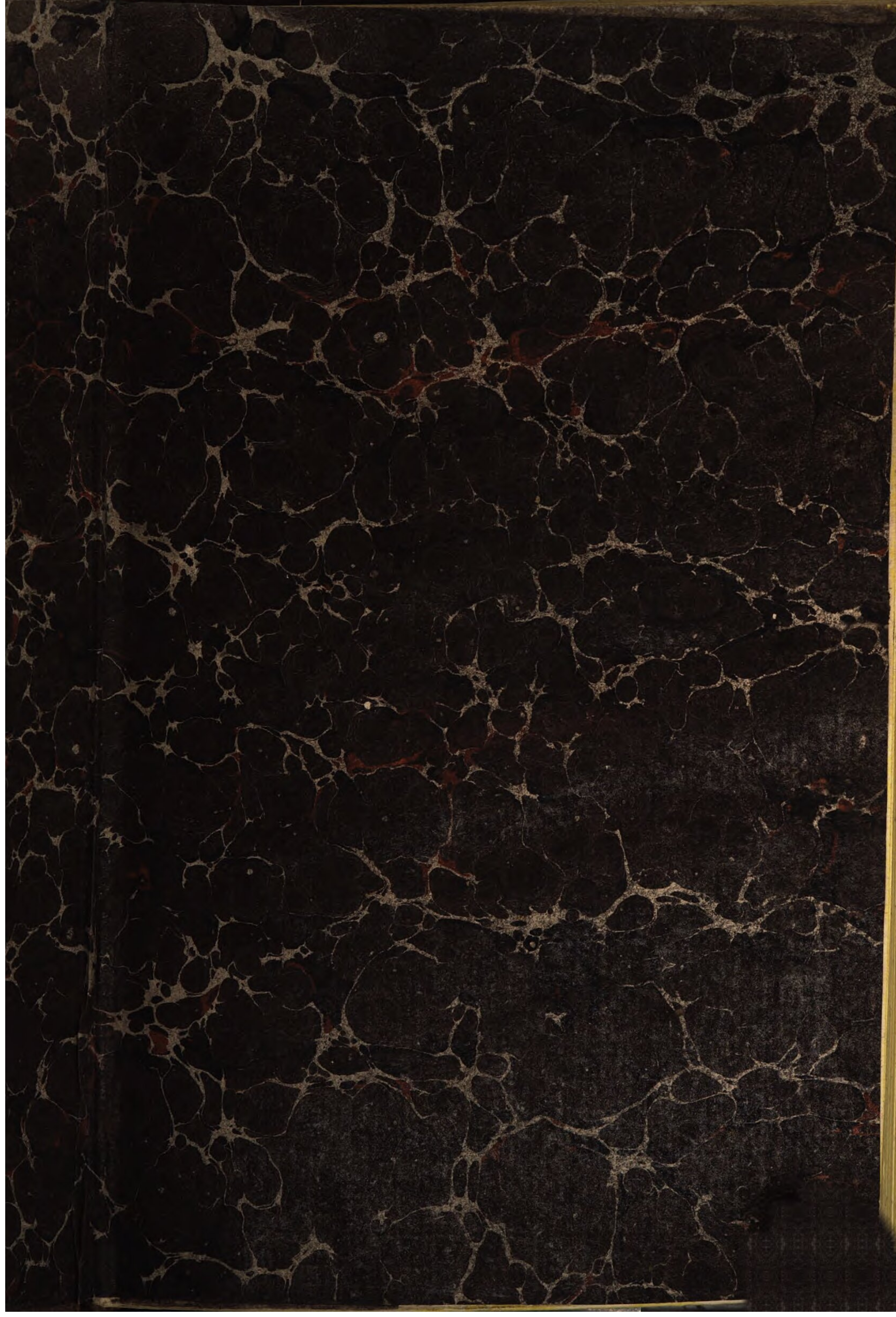








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M E M O I R S

OF THE COURT OF

A U G U S T U S.

Continued, and completed, from the original Papers of the late

THOMAS BLACKWELL, J. U. D.

PRINCIPAL OF MARISHAL COLLEGE, IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

By JOHN MILLS, Esq.

V O L. V.

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T O
THE RIGHT HONORABLE
THE EARL OF BUTE,

Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter,
First Lord Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury, &c. &c.

IN WHOSE CHARACTER
All the GREAT and GOOD QUALITIES which
distinguished AGRIPPA,

As a MINISTER, a FRIEND, and a PATRIOT,

Are happily united with

That liberal Patronage of GENIUS which has
immortalized MÆCENAS;

THESE THREE LAST VOLUMES
of the late Dr. BLACKWELL'S
MEMOIRS of the Court of AUGUSTUS,
Containing the AMIABLE PART of that Emperor's Life,

Are, with the utmost Respect, inscribed, by

His LORDSHIP'S most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

March 16, 1763.

John Mills.

VOL. V.

a 2

TO
THE RIGHT HONORABLE
THE EARL OF DUTCH

Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter
The Earl of Dutch, Secretary of State
IN HIS HOUSE OF COMMONS
ALL THE GREAT AND GOOD QUALITIES WHICH
DISTINGUISH A GREAT
A MAN, A PATRIOT, AND A STATESMAN

As a statesman, a patriot, and a statesman
The Earl of Dutch, Secretary of State
The Earl of Dutch, Secretary of State

THESE THREE LAST VOLUMES
OF THE EARL OF DUTCH
MEMOIRS OF THE EARL OF DUTCH

Containing the History of the Earl of Dutch
The Earl of Dutch, Secretary of State
The Earl of Dutch, Secretary of State

March 1801
John Manners

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Volume was printed off to p. 207. when Dr. BLACKWELL died. The Proprietor, unwilling to let the Sets of those Gentlemen who had purchased the former Volumes remain incomplete, put all the Papers left by the Author, relative to this Work, into the Hands of the present Editor, who begs Leave to observe, that those Papers being, in general, little more than loose Leaves, detached Notes, Memorandums, and, very often, only bare Hints of Things intended to be said, without any Connexion, Reference to each other, or even paging, he hopes he may justly claim some Indulgence from the Public, wherever he has erred in his Endeavours to give them the Order and Method which he imagines might have been Dr. BLACKWELL's, if that Gentleman had lived to finish his Work. — He has tried to connect those loose Papers, and to arrange them in a regular Series; and where they have been deficient, he has had Recourse to the Ancients. The Editor humbly thinks himself the more entitled to some Degree of Indulgence, as no Sort of Plan, that he could ever find or hear of, was left by the Author, for the Continuation of these Memoirs.

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M E M O I R S

O F T H E

COURT OF AUGUSTUS.

B O O K X.

IT is universally acknowledged, that the Happiness of Nations depends, in a great Measure, upon their Governors, whose *Manners* the People are rather more ready to imitate than to obey their Commands. This should render Men in Power equally circumspect in private Life, as attentive to the Duties of their public Stations. We are willing, it is true, partly through Custom, or Good-nature, to make *Allowances* to our Rulers, and with Pleasure see them, after undergoing Toils and Dangers for the Public, indulge in Ease and Magnificence: but we expect *Moderation* in the Use of them, and fail not to despise, perhaps to curse the Leader, whose loose Example infects the Morals, or whose Excesses entail Misery upon an over-burdened People.

After a Series of dreadful Calamities *Rome* was now beginning to take Breath; and through

the Influence of the wise and learned Men that composed *Cæsar's* Council, unhappy *Italy* was reassuming a Face of Joy, while the Affairs of the *East* were running into Confusion. *M. Antony*, from the Time he had traiterously enslaved his Country, having given himself up to Drinking and Debauch, had minded no public Business but through Necessity: — every Thing was managed with the utmost Licentiousness by his Creatures, and of Consequence all was in Disorder. Yet was he not so thoroughly lost to a Sense of Shame, as not to feel the Dishonor reflected upon his Government by the *Parthian* Incursions; or not to be stung by the Victories, gained by *Ventidius* and his other Lieutenants in his Department of the Empire. For another Soldier of Fortune, *P. Canidius Crassus*, (who had a chief Hand in seducing *Lepidus's* Army, and gaining Admission to routed *Antony*), being sent to govern *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, had picked a Quarrel with *Pharnabazus*, the neighbouring King of *Iberia*; and marching through *Armenia* by the same Route that *Cn. Pompey* had held before, first forced him to an Alliance, and then joining Armies, had made a farther Attempt upon his Neighbour, *Zober* King of *Albany*. They were no petty Princes; nor was it a small Conquest. *Iberia*, called now by the *Persians* *Gourgistan*¹,

¹ *The Land of Unbelievers*; from *imperitus*, *stultus* (the Appellation given by the *Mahommedans* to Infidels),

and by the *Europeans Georgia*, is a fertile Country, watered by the *Kur* and many a navigable Stream. It was then finely cultivated, full of Brick-built Towns, and public Edifices; so that the Prince could raise many thousand Men in Case of an Invasion. The *Albanian* was still more powerful; having faced *Pompey the great* with an Army of sixty thousand Foot and fourteen thousand Horse. These Conquests are but just named among *Pompey's* Victories, through the irreparable Loss of the *Memoirs* of his Expedition, writ by *Theophanes* his Companion and Secretary already mentioned. *Canidius*, assisted by the *Iberian* Cavalry, reconquered *Albany*, and took their King *Zober* alive. A third Lieutenant-General, *C. Sossius*, had been detached, after the Surrender of *Samofata*, with four Legions, to eject *Antigonus*, and settle *Herod* on the Throne of *Judea*. The Bravery, Magnanimity, and indefatigable Pains of the young Prince, powerfully assisted *Sossius* to get the better of the obstinate Attachment of that Nation to the *Asmonean* Family, and of their Aversion to an *Idumean* Sovereign.

It was now running the third Summer since the *Roman* Senate had saluted *Herod* King of

and گور a Country: though others derive it from گور

Gaur, a Renegade, and others from گور *Gaur*, a low Flat, a Plain.

the *Jews*, and proclaimed *Antigonus* an Enemy. This Delay, and the Revolt of many Towns during his Absence at *Samofata*, made *Herod* now engage in more desperate Undertakings, than became a Leader of his Experience, and give less Quarter than in former Campaigns. In many fierce Encounters he beat all that durst make Head against him in the Field, then chastised the rebellious Cities, and advanced with his Forces to unhappy *Jerusalem*. He ordered Works to be raised on the North of the Town, against that Part of the Wall by which *Pompey* had broke in before. But, in the Heat of the Approaches, to the great Surprise of his Captains, he left them all of a sudden, and made an Excursion to *Samaria*, in the same Manner as *Henry IV.* of *France* ran away from the Siege of *la Fere*, to pay a Visit at *Monceaux* to *Mademoiselle d'Etrées* (*la belle Gabrielle*), whom he made afterwards *Dutcheffs of Beaufort*. What might be the true Cause of so strange a Sally, in a forward pushing Temper, is hard to tell: whether a Gust of Passion, or some Surmise about the Ladies: certain it is, that *Herod* chose this Opportunity while *Sossius* was not come up with the main Army, to go and consummate his Marriage with the beauteous *Mariamne*, who had been his Bride for three Years since; before his Voyage to *Italy*, and being declared King of *Judea*. He made it however but a By-work to the regaining his Crown and Kingdom: for

quickly returning with a great Reinforcement out of the *Samaritan* Territory, he joined *Soffius* and the Legions with thirty thousand Men, and vigorously pressed the Siege of *Jerusalem*.

The *Jews* within made a desperate Defence. They persuaded themselves, that *God* would miraculously appear for their Relief from an Army composed of *Idumeans*, *Samaritans*, *Syrians* and *Romans* — Nations, whom they thought odious to Heaven; and, in Virtue of this Persuasion, they underwent the greatest Hardships, and did the boldest Things Men are capable of performing. But the *Roman* Discipline, and Skill in all the Branches of the military Art, found nothing unsurmountable; and, being at the same Time favored by the Season, the Works advanced apace, in Spite of the fierce Resistance of Men who little valued their own Life or Limbs, so they might do Mischief to the Enemy.

Yet, for all the *Roman* Address and *Idumean* Bravery, the Siege lasted five Months, when at Length a Part of *Herod's* own Life-guard were first seen to mount the Wall; and after them *Soffius's* Troop broke in, and made Way for the whole Army. The City was taken that same Day six-and-twenty Years it had been taken by *Cn. Pompey*². In the first Fury of the Troops,

² *Joseph*, the *Jewish* Historian, says it was seven-and-twenty Years between the two Sackings of *Jerusalem*: but he has probably counted by the *Hebrew* Kalendar³

the miserable *Jews* felt all the Ills which a Town carried by Storm suffers from a foreign Army, or the more merciless Hands of their inveterate Country-men: But at last *Herod* interposed; and, by Promises to the General, and Threats to the Soldiery, not only saved the Remains of his Capital, but preserved the Sanctity of the Temple from Profanation. The Romans and Syrians were rushing into it, partly for Plunder, and partly from a Curiosity to view the *Arcana* that were kept so religiously from vulgar Eyes. They did not mind the King's Entreaties, nor regard his Threats; until he charged them Sword in Hand at the Head of his own Guards, and reduced them to a Sense of their Duty.

Among the miserable Spectacles of the Day was *Antigonus*, lately the Idol of the Nation: who forgetting the Dignity of his Birth and Station, threw himself down at *Sossius's* Feet, meanly begging for Life: nor did the Roman General keep to the Generosity of a Victor or the Humanity of his Nation; but received the unhappy Prince with an insulting Sneer—called him *Miss Antigone*, and ordered him immediately to be put in Irons. He afterwards led him to *Antony*, who was lying with the Army at *Antioch*, and who, in Consideration of a vast Sum sent by *Herod*, gave Orders that *Antigonus* should lose his Head.

and included the *Sabbatic Year*, which began at the autumnal Equinox, in the Month of *Tifri*, or *September*,
A. U. C. DCCXVI.

It was the first one struck off by the *Romans* that had wore a Crown: for his elder Brother *Alexander*, who was beheaded by *Scipio's* Command, had not put on the Diadem. *Dion* says, that his Head was put into the *Furca*, a Sort of Pillory, and his Body scourged, before he was brought to the Block; and the accurate *Strabo*, in his much-regretted History, assigns the Reason of this ignominious Execution, 'that it ' was the only Way could be thought of, to ' loosen the Affections of the *Jews* from the *As-* ' *monean* Race, and make them receive *Herod* as ' their King: for so rooted was their Hatred to ' him, that, even when put upon the Rack, ' they would not acknowledge him for their ' Sovereign.' Yet he had a strong Party zealous for his interest, and that among the strictest Sect, the *Pharisees*; one of whom, by name *Pollio*, prophesied, says *Josephus*, his Establishment on the Throne; and was highly honored by *Herod*; who did not fail to reward his military Men, especially the *Romans*, with great Magnificence; and made Presents to the General that were truly royal. Accordingly, before his Departure, *Sossius* consecrated a Crown of Gold in the Temple of the Lord at *Jerusalem*, in Token of his having settled a King.

These Achievements of *Ventidius*, of *Canidius Crassus*, and *Sossius*, against powerful or desperate Nations, seemed to confirm the young *Cæsar's* Observation, that he and his Colleague were more

fortunate by their Lieutenants , than when they commanded in Person. They spread the Terror of Antony's Arms over all Asia, from the Euxine to the Red Sea, at the same Time that they reflected not a little Dishonor on his personal Indolence. Along with this, his vast luxurious Army, while idle, lay a heavy Burden upon the exhausted Provinces, and called for new Supplies of Plunder ; so that Honor combined with Interest to rouse, and make him finally resolve upon an Expedition to Parthia, and, as he fondly hoped, the Conquest of that mighty Empire.

We observed, that this Expedition was in View at his last Parting with *Cæsar*, when *Octavia* accompanied him in his Voyage towards *Greece*. They touched at the Island *Corfu* in their Way; and from thence, either out of real Regard for her Ease, or beginning to weary of *too uniform* a Wife, he sent back that excellent Woman with her own two Infants and *Fulvia's* Children, under Pretence that, *at a Distance from the Dangers of War, she would live more agreeably among her Friends at Rome.* He then proceeded through *Greece* to *Syria*, and began to call together the whole Power of the East; some Incidents having fallen out that seemed to render the Conjunction extremely favorable for an Invasion of *Parthia*.

No Prince could be more amazed, than

*Orodes*³ (the Conqueror of *Crassus*) was with the News of the Death of his Favorite *Pacorus*, the royal Youth who fell at the Attack of *Ventidius's* Camp, and who was the Pride and Pleasure of the old King's Heart. He had lately heard that his Armies had subdued all *Syria*, and over-run a great Part of the Province of *Asia*, and now made no Doubt of his Son's beating the *Romans*, and returnig home in Triumph: but instead of this, he was informed of the total Defeat of his Army, and of the Death of the *Prince*, he was seized with Astonishment! For some Days he refused to eat, or utter a Word. Absorbed in the Idea of his beloved Son, he neither heard, nor saw, nor minded any Thing besides; but, when he began to recover his Speech, it was only to call upon *Pacorus* — to converse with *Pacorus*⁴, to ask him Questions as if present, and listen to his Answers — till recollecting he was no more, he would burst into Tears, and fall into

³ It is the same, a little varied, with *Herodes*, signifying *mighty Prince, formidable Spoiler*, from *הֵרֹד* *Hêroz*, — or, if the Aspiration (which the *Greeks* could not pronounce) be changed, it signifies, *brave, active, clever*, from *הֵרֵד*.

⁴ It signifies *glorious, or triumphant*; from *פָּאָרֻס* *Glory*, a *Triumph*; a Name not unlike the Title of the Kings of *Egypt*, by the Transposition of a single Letter, *פָּאָרֻח* *Pharcho* (*Pbaraoh*) signifying, the *Chief*, the *Prince*, the *Head* of a Nation or Family.

Agonies and Distraction. At Length, Grief and Neglect of himself brought on a Dropsy, and along with it a new Care — the Choice of a Successor from among thirty remaining Sons. This Choice, either through Priority of Birth, or the usual Intrigues of the Seraglio, fell upon the worst and wickedest of Men, *Phraates*⁵; born of an obscure Woman, though he had Children by a Princess of *Commagene*. To him *Orodes*, weary of Business, of the World, and of Life, resigned his Crown, and in Return, as the Dropsy seemed to proceed but slowly in removing him, received a Draught of Poison from his Successor. But it produced a very unexpected Effect, purging off the dropfical Humor, and restoring the old King to Health, only that he might witness the slaughter of his nine - and - twenty Sons by their elder Brother. He expressed a proper Indignation, which drew an Order from the Parricide to stifle his Father with his Pillow. Many of the prime Nobility met with the same Fate; as did the Monster's own Child, who was grown up too nigh the Throne. In Consequence of these horrid Doings. *Parthia* was in the utmost Confusion; the surviving great Lords fled from Court, to take Shelter under the neighbouring Princes; and the greatest of them *Moneses*, took the Route of *Syria*, and put himself under the Protection of *Antony*. He

⁵ It is derived from the Syriac פֶּבְרָא, *Pbraat*, *Eminent Horseman*.

met with a distinguished Welcome, and had three Cities assigned to him for his Entertainment; in Imitation of the Appointments given to *Themistocles*, when that famed *Athenian* took Refuge at the *Persian* Court. The Accounts which *Monefes* gave of the disordered State of *Parthia*, through the Cruelty of their savage King, made it appear an easy Conquest; and the Promises he made to guide the Army, and bring over whole Provinces from *Phraates*, determined *Antony* to make the Attempt next Spring.

But while he was employed in preparing for so great an Enterprize, and the tributary Princes were beginning to put their Forces in Motion, there were not wanting some obliging Persons in his own Retinue, who, to make themselves gracious, or prompted perhaps from *Egypt*, put him now and then in Mind of its neglected Queen — ‘the charming unhappy Woman, who loved him more than Life or Reputation — who submitted, though a crowned Head, to be called his Mistress, while a haughty Roman Dame enjoyed the Honors of his conjugal State.’ Among these complaisant People I suspect the ingenious and dissolute *Dellius* to have held the chief Place. He had for some Time been inseparable from *Antony*, and was at the same Time extremely acceptable to *Cleopatra*; — so acceptable, that there were Suspicions of more than common Intimacy between them: It is not, therefore, improbable,

that he would employ his insinuating Arts on this Occasion ; as he might hope, were his Master again obnoxious to the Queen, to obtain greater Favors by *her* Means than he could expect in the ordinary Way. Be that as it will, *Mark Antony*, giddy and inconstant — in a long Habit of indulging his Passions, was by his evil Genius persuaded to lay Hold of the thin Pretence of summoning the dependent Princes, and dispatch the courtly *Fonteius Capito* into *Egypt*, to command the Queen's Attendance upon the *Triumvir* in *Syria*.

We would be greatly mistaken if we imagined, that the least Grain of Honor or mutual Fidelity had ever entered into the Commerce of these Lovers ; or that the Lady had kept within the Bounds of Decency in the Interval of their Amour: no ; — she was, as the grave *Pliny* calls her, *Regina Meretrix*, a royal Whore ; of such Intemperance, as to prostitute herself for Pleasure ; and of such irresistible Beauty, that many Gentlemen, struck with her bewitching Face and Figure, were contented to purchase a Night in her Arms with the Loss of their Heads next Morning. This is strange ; but not incredible. Passion wound up to its Height, and especially the Passion of Love, is capable of any Sacrifice.

*Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem
Factus homo, Antoni, non ut magis alter, amicus.*

Horat. Sat. V.

There are Instances of *Inamoratos* who have voluntarily killed themselves in the Height of Rapture ; and *Cleopatra* , drunk with Power and Pleasure, was very capable of exacting Performance, and glorying in such a Victim offered to her Charms. It was therefore no delicate Passion, but mere Lewdness, that tied *Antony* to her ; and both *that* and Interest that made her *feign Love* for him. We need not doubt of her graciously receiving the polite *Capito* , and readily obeying the welcome Call ; nor of her coming brightened up with all *the Art and Luxury of Love*. Her first Progress to *Cilicia* , and Interview with the Triumvir at *Tarsus* , made the greatest Noise , as it was new ; but this *second Congress* in *Syria* was more enchanting, though less splendid. *Antony* and *She* were perfectly acquainted ; the Queen especially , well knew her Man , and came prepared to indulge him in every Wish of his Heart : for their Inclinations were quite of a Piece ; equally wild, equally profuse and profligate, with only more Invention on her Part, to fall upon new and surprising Methods of Gratification. *Antony* therefore forgetting the lovely *Octavia* , and disregarding the Repentment of her Brother, threw himself so entirely into the Arms of this Enchantress, that from the Hour of this Meeting he was no more his own Master, scarce took a right Step, or saw a happy Day in his after Life.

To understand the Manner of his final Ruin,

we must be duly apprized of the Peculiarities of the Person's Character who commanded him like a Child. For, besides the Beauties and Blemishes already mentioned, *Cleopatra* was a Woman of infinite Cunning, insatiate Avarice, and relentless Cruelty. She found the Lord of the Eastern Empire her *Slave*, and thought she should of Course be Mistress of all his Dependants. She therefore saw nothing that was rare or excellent — no rich Revenue, or precious Produce of any neighbouring Kingdom, but what she coveted; and by Ways and Means obtained it, in whole or in Part, from her obsequious Lover. The fine Pasture-Lands in upper *Silicia*, the noble Cedar-Woods above *Sydra*, the Iron Mines of *Amoxia*, and adjacent Harbours for a Fleet (lying almost opposite to the Mouth of the *Nile*); in short, all the mountainous *Silicia* she obtained in a Present from *Antony*, save the free City, famed for its admirable Policy, *Seleucia* on the *Calicadno*. But this was a Trifle; — for as her Influence increased, she begged nothing less than one Gift of the two Kingdoms that border with *Egypt*, *Arabia* and *Judea*. This Demand did startle *Antony*; who asked, somewhat amazed, how that could be done, while these Kingdoms were possessed by two brave Princes, his particular Friends? — Why, Sir, said the Queen with a derisory Smile, *Is it not in your Power to cut off their Heads, and dispose of their Dominions to whom you please?* *Antony* was not as yet quite so far

gone as to commit the suggested Barbarity ; but such was the Ascendant she had over him , that she forced him to tear from both the Flower of their Revenues : the Balsam - bearing Groves about *Jericho*⁷, from *Herod* , and the Frankincense-Fields of *Saba* , from *Malchus*. Then she must have the Vale of Palms about *Damascus* ; and , to reward her Moderation in not insisting for the two Kingdoms , she actually got Possession of all *Phenicia* and the *Hollow-Syria* , excepting the independent Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* , which she struggled hard to obtain.

In such a State of Mind , and under such Influence , did *Antony* undertake the dangerous *Parthian War*. *Phraates* , no less sagacious than cruel , knew the Consequence of *Moneses* , and sent to offer him not only Security of Life and Fortune , if he would return to his Duty , but the highest Honors and Trust. The Grandee inclined to accept , and it was not proper to hinder him by Force : *Antony* rather chose to use him as a Tool , to lure the *Parthian* by the Show of a Treaty , which he proposed to conclude , on Condition the *Eagles* of the Legions , and especially the surviving *Prisoners* , taken at the Defeat of *Craspus* , were restored to the *Romans*. With these Proposals , and very magnificent Presents , he

⁷ The King , to prevent her Officers from getting footing in his Country , thought fit to farm them himself , and paid the Queen a Rent of near L. 40,000 a year.

dismissed *Monefes*, and in the mean Time did not intermit his vast Preparations for the War. They were such as put *all Asia* in Motion, and terrified the Nations beyond *Bactra* and the *Indus*. He assembled just double the Number of Men, with which *Alexander* the *Macedonian* had passed the *Hellepont*; and put an End to the *Persian* Empire. *Sixty thousand Romans*, heavy armed, attended with their Complement of *ten thousand Horse*, seemed alone a Force capable of subduing all the East: but when joined by so many auxiliary Princes, with their whole collected Strength, it was scarce expected that an Enemy would dare to look it in the Face. *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, *Amyntas* and *Castor* Kings of *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, *Polemo* King of *Pontus*, and *Malchus* the *Arab*, all of *Antony's* own creating, brought each his Quota of Men, out of which he picked seventeen thousand light armed, to scour the Country and procure Intelligence; while his chief Confidence was in the King of the greater *Armenia*, *Artuasdes* (or *Artabazus*^{*}), the Son of that *Tigranes* on whose Head

^{*} It is one and the same Name; the letter B put for the W of the Eastern Tongues, which the Greeks supplied with B, or diphthong OY; writing indiscriminately Βιργίλιος or Ουιργίλιος, Βάρρων or Ουάρρων. So Ἀρτεάσδης or Ἀρταξάκης. It signifies *strong Lion* or *mighty Lord*; from two *Persian* Words, both preserved in the *Arabic*, عراض *potens*, and

ساید *dominus, princeps.*

Pompey

Pompey had replaced the easy ravished Crown. This Prince furnished *seven thousand* Foot, and *sixteen thousand* chosen Horsemen, acquainted with the *Parthian* Manner of fighting, and thought no Way inferior to them at their own Weapons, the Bow and the Sabre.

The Troops of the several Nations were now filing off towards their Rendezvous in *Irak* or upper *Arabia*, in Order to pass the *Phrath* at the nearest, when *Antony* sent back the Queen with a royal Retinue to *Egypt*, and took the leading of that formidable Army that made the *Parthian* Tyrant tremble on his Throne. His Empire, reaching across the Continent of *Asia*, from the *Caspian* to the *Red-Sea*, consisted of *eighteen* Kingdoms*: so they affected to call their Governments or *Satrapies*, eleven of the upper, and seven

* When the younger *Cyrus* was animating his Grecian Troops with the Prospect of vast Rewards, he told them, Ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ παλαιὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὗ διὰ καῦμα ἔδύνανται οἰκεῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι ὅπου διὰ χιμῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀπάντων σατραπείαι οἱ βασιλέως φίλοι.

Gentlemen! The Empire of my Forefathers, Kings of *Persia*, extends towards the South, to where Mankind cannot dwell for Heat — Northward it runs to where it is uninhabitable for Cold; and all that lies between these two is divided into Provinces, and governed by the Friends of the King.

Ἰεροφῶν. Ἀνατ. Κυρ. α.

of the lower Domain ; in Virtue whereof the royal Title of *Parthia* was *King of Kings*¹. These Provinces were inhabited by a fighting warlike People, especially the Northern, and could pour Myriads of Cavalry upon an invading Foe: but the Fate of *Pacorus* and *Barzapharnes*, and still more his own Crimes, made *Phraates* almost despair at the Approach of the most tremendous military Body then in the World. His Fears were vain — for the *first Mover* was vitiated; — the General's *Head*, that was to direct its Operations, was actually *turned*: *Cleopatra* ran constantly in it — *her Image*, like a magic Spell, danced before his Eyes, and he thought of nothing but Frolic and Luxury. Instead therefore of employing his great Capacity, and the military Skill acquired in a Life led in Arms, to conduct the grand Enterprize, he regarded it only as a *transient* Affair; while the main Point he kept in View, was to get home to spend the Winter with *Cleopatra*. To accomplish this, every Thing was hurried, and of Course every Thing was *mismanaged*. Disorder and Confusion prevailed; and a still more fatal Error effectually blasted the Expedition. For the same Absence of Mind and Inattention to Business made him mistake an Enemy

¹ *Perſæ*, ſays Ammianus, *Saporem*, *Saan-ſaan* appellabant, & *Pyroſem*, quod eſt Rex Regibus imperans, & bellorum Victor. He ſays true; شاهزادگان *Shabin-Shah* is juſt *King of Kings*, and فيروز *Firouz* a Conqueror.

for a Friend , and commit the Route of the Army , and in a Manner the Direction of the Campaign , to a *Traitor*. *Artuasdes*, King of *Armenia* , in his Heart hated the *Romans* , as the Controulers of his *royal Sway* , and Obstacles to his extending his Dominion , like *Mithridates* his Grandfather, from *Pontus* to the *Archipelago*. He sighed in secret for the *arbitrary* Rule of his Neighbours , the *Median* and *Parthian* Kings , Lords of the Lives and Estates of their Subjects , and wished above all Things to throw off the Restraint of the *Roman Yoke*. But not daring to avow his Sentiments, nor openly to join their Enemies , he acted the Courtier to *M. Antony* in Appearance, while he meant to sacrifice him and his Army to the *Parthian*.

Whether by Intelligence from *him* or *Moneses* , it appeared that *Antony's* Dissimulation was no Secret at the *Parthian* Court: for, when he came to the *Phrath* , he found the Passages so strongly guarded , that it was impossible to force them , and penetrate *that* Way into the Enemy's Country. Being therefore at a Stand, *Artuasdes* came , and offered to take the Guidance of the Army , and lead them through his own Territories , *where* , he said , *they might refresh* , and then proceed to the *Median Border*. He was trusted as a Counsellor and Guide; and , instead of a *thousand English Miles* , which is the Distance between the *Zeugma Pass* , seventy-two below *Samosata* , and the Limits of *Atropatene* , he led the *Roman*

Legions over horrid Mountains and through Deserts by so many Circuits and Windings, that it proved just double the Way².

After that terrible March, the chief Officers, *Domitius Enobarbus*, *Munatius Plancus*, *Canidius Gallus*, *Titius* the Paymaster, and *Q. Dellius*, advised the General to winter in *Armenia*, and refresh his harassed Troops; 'to erect Magazines for the Support of so vast an Army, — prepare new Carriages for the heavy Siege-Machines; and take the Field early in the Spring, before the *Parthian* Horse could look out of their Winter-Quarters.' But no — that did not tally with his Schemes; and though the Summer was far spent, he divided his Army; left his Master of Artillery, *Oppius Statianus*, with the Machines, and ten thousand Men to guard them; while he himself, with his whole Cavalry, and the Flower of the Legions, advanced by forced Marches through the Plains of *Atropatene*, as if, by main Force, he had been to trample down every Thing before him.

When the Empire of *Persia* was dismembered after *Alexander's* Death, the bloody Wars into which Ambition involved his Captains, left them little Leisure to look after the remote Provinces; neither indeed had they sufficient Numbers,

¹ Τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ζεύγματος ὁδὸν — μέχρι τῆς ἁΐσθαι τῆς Ἀτροπατήνης, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐποίησε πλέον ἢ διπλάσιαν τῆς εὐθείας, δι' ὁρῶν, καὶ ἀνοδίων, καὶ κυκλοφορείας.

though daily recruited from *Greece*, to grasp the immense Territories of the Eastern Monarchy. It was then that the despised *Parthian* grew into a powerful State, and it was then that *Atropates*, a *Persian* Satrape, Governor of *Media*, kept the Militia of his Province in Arms, and drove out the thin *Macedonian* Garrisons. The mountainous Parts to the North, among the Skirts of Mount *Taurus*, affording them many Places of Strength, he was able to erect that District into a Kingdom under the renowned Name of *Media*; and mixing in Alliance, sometimes with the *Parthian*, sometimes with the *Armenian* and *Syrian* Kings, he grew to such Power, as to levy forty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse in his own Dominions. But as his Neighbours on either Hand were still more powerful, the *Median* Politic was to be strictly connected with one, while at War with the other. The reigning Prince (of the same Name with the *Armenian* King) was at high Variance with him; which made him throw himself into the *Parthian's* Arms; while his Enemy persuaded *Antony* to make a Circuit, and attack *Parthia* through *Atropatene*, where he put every Thing to Fire and Sword.

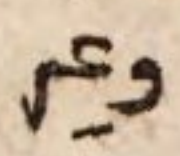
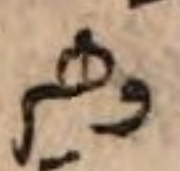
The allied Kings did not immediately advance and give him Battle: they let him first tire his Troops with sultry Marches and bad Quarters, and then sit down, unprepared as he was, before the strong Town of *Praaspa*³, whither the *Median*

³ It is pure *Persian*, from *فراس* a Rider, and *ش* a Horse.

Prince had conveyed his Seraglio and Treasure at the first News of the *Roman* Invasion. Here he was fatiguing and losing his best Men, in rolling, for Want of Machines, such a vast Bank of Earth to surmount the Wall, as that by which General *Patrick Gordon* enabled the late *Czar* to take *Asoph*, when the two Kings, informed of *Oppius'* being left behind, detached a Body of Cavalry to attack him. *Artuasdes*, though in the Neighbourhood, did not stir for his Relief, nor send him the least Intelligence: so that towards Evening, he was suddenly surrounded, overpowered, and slain; and with him ten thousand *Romans*, pierced with Arrows, lay dead upon the Field. For they gave no Quarter; and a Foot-Soldier could but ill escape from the *Parthian* Horse. The only Prisoner they made was *Polemo* King of *Pontus*, whom the *Median* released for a vast Ransom. The Siege-Engines that loaded three hundred Carriages, and among the Rest the famous Battering Ram, of fourscore Foot long, they broke in Pieces and burnt, and after this Exploit marched back to join their Masters.

We have a brief Relation of the Events of this War in *Plutarch's Life of Antony*: but our Entertainment had been higher, if either the *original History* of it, writ by the noted *Dellius*, who made the Campaign in Person, or if *Strabo's Parthian Memoirs* had reached our Times. For *Plutarch*, who extracted that Part of his Story from *these* Authors, tells it but cursorily, and

Appian has lamely transcribed him. *Strabo*, for Instance, lets us know, ' that *Gaza* the Capital ' of *Atropatene* stood in a Plain, near to which ' was *Wera* a Citadel built on a high Rock, where ' the King of *Media* kept his Family and Trea- ' sure : that *Antony* laid Siege to this Fort, and ' after he raised it, had, according to *Dellius* an ' Eye-witness, three hundred Miles to march ' to the River *Araxes*, which divides *Arme-* ' *nia* from *Atropatene* '. But *Plutarch* and his Transcriber make no Mention of *Wera*: they say, ' that *Antony* besieged a great City *Praaspa* (or ' *Phraata*) whither the Royal Family and Jewels ' had been conveyed.' Wherefore waving the Detail of the military Operations, which belong not properly to my Subject, I will only endeavour to give a general Idea of the Expedition, and observe; that the same Causes contributed to defend the *Parthians* from the *Roman* Legions, that have rendered the Conquest of that same Country (modern *Persia*) impracticable to the *Ottoman* Armies for these four or five hundred Years. The *Turkish* Troops, though a bordering People, are fatigued and starved before they pass the large waste Tracts that lie between them and the rich inland Provinces of *Persia*. Sicknefs

* Στεγανὸν B.C. IA. *Wera*, from the Arabic ⁵  a steep high Rock; if from  a Place heated by reflected Rays. Perhaps it has appeared like a Rider upon *Gaza*, and both have conjunctly been called *Praaspa* the *Horseman*.

too seldom fails to seize them in Consequence of Fatigue and bad Feeding, when the fresh *Persian* Army, far superior to them in Cavalry, begins to hem them in, to cut off their Provisions, and keep them in Play, till Winter's Approach make the commanding *Bashaw* think how he can secure his Retreat.

This was the Case of the *Roman* Army before *Praaspa* about the Middle of *September*; when *Phraates*, on the other Hand, afraid of his Cavalry's dispersing at the first Fall of Snow, slyly ordered them 'to permit the Romans to forage more freely—to extol their Bravery, and wonder they should chuse to make War upon a Prince who held them and their General in such Admiration.' This Fetch had the wished Effect; *Antony*, threatened with Famine, and making slow Progress in the Siege, sent some of his chief Officers to treat with the *Parthian* King, who received them in high State, sitting on a Throne of Gold, and twanging the String of his Bow, while they were offering Peace, on Condition the Ensigns and Prisoners taken at *Carrae* from *Crassus* were restored. *Phraates*, not without Reason, reproached the *Romans* with Treachery and Avarice, and, in few Words, bade them forbear talking at present of the Eagles and Prisoners—but that if *Antony* pleased to depart, he should be furnished with Provisions, and might march home without Molestation. Necessity left him no Choice; he decamped in such Haste as to leave his Works thrown up before *Praaspa*

to be burnt by the *Median* Garrison. For two Days he marched unmolested ; but the *third* he was surrounded by the *perfidious Parthian*, and attacked on all Sides at once. — He was in the Midst of the Solitudes of *Atropatene*, deserted by his false Friend *Artuafdes* (who had returned to *Armenia*,) and exposed to the united Efforts of the *Parthian* and *Median* Power. In the Course of this miserable March, they made *eighteen* different Attacks upon the *Roman* Army, and almost always by Surprise. At Evening, Morning, Noon; — at the Fords of Rivers and Passes of Mountains they harassed the starving Legions, and left them not an Hour of secure Repose. *Antony's* Scouts came in out of Breath, and had scarce made their Report, *that the Enemy was at Hand*, when a Shower of Arrows confirmed the Truth of it. In this terrible Condition they marched *three hundred Miles* in *one - and - twenty* Days, so destitute of Provisions, that the eighth Part of a Peck of Wheat was sold for *thirty shillings*, and Barley-bread was bought with its Weight of Silver. In fine *Antony* and his whole Army had certainly perished, but for two of the Barbarians themselves; the one was a *Mardian*^{*} acquainted with *Parthia*, but now in the *Roman* Service, and who had behaved well in the unhappy Engagement at the Machines. He came to *Antony*, and told him, *not to return by the Way he had come through the naked Plain, where he would*

^{*} An Usbeck Tartar.

infallibly perish with Hunger and Thirst — but to take his Way through the Mountains on his right Hand, where he would find Streams and Villages, and be less exposed to the Parthian Squadrons; — and for Security of his good Intentions, he allowed himself to be bound, and in that Condition led the Way towards Armenia.

Besides Famine, Foes and Thirst, they met with other unexpected Disasters by the Way: — for being forced to feed upon all Sorts of Roots and Greens, they happened upon a poisonous Herb of an extraordinary Nature: those that eat of it were seized with Madness, and then expired vomiting Bile. When it began to operate, they lost Memory of every Thing, and Knowledge of every Body — One sole Business they minded, — to dig up and turn over every Stone they could perceive on the Ground. The Fields were full of People stooping down, and removing Stones, who in a little Time fell a vomiting and dropt down dead. *Antony* was struck with the unheard-of Calamity, and the *Parthians* at the same Time pressing on him harder than ever, he was heard repeating to himself in Anguish, *O the ten thousand! — the ten thousand!**

* The ingenious *Dr. Tournefort* has not described this Plant in the Excursion he made into *Media* to visit Mount *Ararat*, where *Noah's Ark* is said to have rested after the Deluge; but he paints a Part of the Country between it and the *Araxes* thus — *des Campagnes sèches, pierreuses, incultes, & fort désagréables.*

He had Reason : the March of that Handful of *Greeks* from the Heart of the *Persian* Empire, in Spite of surrounding Armies of *three hundred thousand* Men, is among the shining Proofs of the Superiority to which glorious *Liberty* raises a Nation : It is the Triumph of Freedom over Slavery, of Wisdom over Folly, and, in one Word, of *Virtue*, over *Vice*. Rivers, Rocks, and Mountains, guarded by hostile Nations, in vain opposed their Passage to their loved Native-Land : Under the Conduct of an *Athenian* Philosopher (a *real* Philosopher, joining Action to Thought) they broke through every Bar, surmounted every Obstacle, until they got a Sight of the *Sea*, that filled them with inexpressible Ecstasy. Nor did ever glorious Deed find a better *Historian*, than this has done in the Person of its Hero, the *all-accomplished Xenophon*, the Preservation of whose Works (a most precious Monument of Antiquity) is an equal Happiness to Life and Learning.

The other salutary Service came originally from *Moneses*, and was performed by *Mithridates* his Nephew. The *Parthians* had feigned to leave off farther Pursuit, and return home before Winter : they had covered their Diffimulation with so many civil Expressions and Professions of *admiring the Roman Discipline and Valor*, that *Antony* was again deceived ; and was about to leave the Route through the Mountains, where he heard there was no Water, and take that through the Plain. But the Night before he was to descend, a Gentleman came to the Camp,

and called for an Interpreter that could speak *Syriac* or *Parthian*. *Alexander*, a Native of *Antioch*, *Antony's* great Acquaintance, was sent out, to whom he first told *who* he was, and at *whose* Desire he came; and then pointing North-west, asked if he saw *that Ridge of high Hills* at a Distance? He said he did — ‘ Well, replied *Mithridates*, at the Foot of these the whole *Parthian* Army lies in Wait for you. The Road by the Plain leads through them; and they hope that, having deceived you with Professions of Peace, you will leave the dreary March through the Mountains, and fall into the Snare — It is true you must lay your Account with Toil and Thirst to which you have been no Strangers; but tell *Antony* from me, that, if he quit the Hills, the Fate of *Crassus* will inevitably attend him.’

But the most dreadful Calamity that beset *Antony* during the whole Expedition, was owing to the Avarice and Brutality of his own Troops. He had long accustomed them to Robbery and Plunder; and being now restrained by the *Parthian* Bow-Men from ravaging abroad, they thought fit to exercise their Talents upon one another.

In the Dead of the Night a Cry reached the General's Tent, as if an Attack had been made by the Enemy upon the Camp; and sending out to know what was the Matter, he was told, that all was in Confusion, and no Resistance making by the Legions surprised without their Arms. The Cry

approached nearer and nearer, and at last coming from his own Baggage, he gave all for lost, and calling *Rhamnus*, a sturdy Fellow he had lately manumitted, he made him swear to run him through with his Sword, when he gave the Command, and then to cut off his Head — I suppose, that he might neither be taken alive, nor known and insulted, like *Crassus*, after his Death. The Officers were standing about him in Tears, and the faithful *Tartar* their Guide was assuring them they were not far from a fresh River, when some of the Tribunes entered, and told him the Attack was from *no Enemy* — but that a Number of their own *Ruffians* had first murdered their Comrades for their Money, — then had rifled the Bast-Horses and Carriages, and last of all had fallen upon his own Baggage, and cut his massy Tables, and Plate in Pieces, and shared it among themselves. This was done in the Midst of their fiercest Enemies, and in the utmost Incertainty whether they should ever get home, to enjoy the Fruits of their Villany.

Such a Thing was never heard of under the Common-wealth. It would have been thought the most incredible and monstrous Impiety; when it was not known, that a common Soldier, standing Sentry over the Spoil of the richest Town, had ever pilfered the smallest Trifle; but delivered the whole faithfully over to the public Division. It was one of the grievous Effects of the Contempt of the Laws, and bribing Armies, introduced by *Julius Cæsar*: for the unloosing the

Pins of the august Frame of the *Roman Republic*, the chief of which was their *Military Discipline*, must needs be attended with, dismal Convulsions, and involve its Destroyers in the public Ruin.

From this hurried hapless Expedition *Antony* scarce brought back *two thirds* of his Men; for having got safe over the *Araxes*, he mustered his Army, and found *twenty thousand* Foot, and *four thousand* Horsemen missing; one half of whom had perished by Sicknefs and Want, and the other fallen by the *Parthian* Arrows. His weak State made him dissemble the Treachery of *Artasdes*, and his wild Passion lost him other *eight thousand* of his Soldiers, frozen to Death on the Mountains by the intense Cold, while, hurrying home to *Cleopatra* through the deep Snows of *Armenia*, he arrived himself, with a very thin Retinue, at a Port in *Phenicia* called the *White Village*, between *Berytus* and *Sidon*, where the *Queen* had appointed to meet him. While he waited her arrival, it appeared how little he was in his own, and how much in *her* Power. He could take no Rest, nor possess himself for an Hour: sometimes, to drive away care, he sat down to drink; but was scarcely set, till starting up, he ran to the House-top, whence he had a view of the Sea, to look for the *Queen's Fleet*. She arrived at last, bringing Clothes and Money for the Troops, or at least what he distributed in her Name; and then, as if he had been himself in her Pay, *She* led him back to *Egypt*, to pass the Remainder of the Winter at *Alexandria*.

This Expedition, undertaken in Contempt of Treaties, through mere Thirst of Gold, met with the Success it deserved: and that Success gives Rise to a curious Question, 'Why *Crassus* and ' *Antony* should fail in an Enterprize, where first ' *Agésilas* and *Xenophon*, and then *Alexander* and ' *Ventidius*, with much smaller Armies had been ' victorious?' It is elegantly touched in a *Review of the Lives and Characters of the Cæsars*, written by the Emperor *Julian*; a Piece of great Genius and Judgment! He introduces the grand Usurper *Julius Cæsar* claiming the Preference, not only over all his Countrymen, but venturing to deride *Alexander's* Conquest of the *Persian Empire*, as of a weak unwarlike People. The *Macedonian* first answers, 'that his (*Cæsar's*) boasted Wars in ' *Gaul* were nothing but *Preparations to oppress his Country*; than which nothing could be more ' villanous and detestable,' and then tartly asks, 'If the conquest of *Persia* were so contemptible ' an Achievement, inform me, pray *Sir!* how ' is it, that you *Romans* have not been able to ' master one small Province above the *Tigris*, in ' a War of three hundred years? Shall I tell you ' the real Cause — it is the *Persian Arrows* that ' keep you at a Bay; of which you may be pleased to ask News at your Favorite and Pupil in ' the Art military, *Marc Antony.*' Here *Julian* leaves it; who, while he was writing, had his *Persian Expedition* in View, where he lost his Life, after obtaining a glorious Victory. The Reason of the different Fate of the Generals I

conceive to have been this: that in the three Battles of *Granicus*, *Gangamela*, and *Iffus*, with *Alexander*, and the two at the *Silician Pass* and *Aleppo* with *Ventidius*, the *Persians* stood firm, fought Hand to Hand, and endeavoured to bear down their Enemy by Dint of Sword. In this Way of fighting their Armour and Exercise were both inferior, and they were beaten of Course. But had they brought no *Foot-Soldier* into the Field, and poured their Multitudes of Northern Horse round the small *Grecian* and *Roman* Armies of *twenty* or *thirty* thousand Men, with Orders to fly when attacked, and turn upon the Retreat — to straiten, harass, and starve them in their barren Plains, it is more than probable, that *Alexander* and *Ventidius* would have fared no better than *Crassus* and *Antony*. It was the *Persian* Pride and *Inexperience* that made them face the *Spartan* and *Macedonian* Phalanx; as the Defeat of *Crassus* and of *Saxa* betrayed *Pacorus* into a *standing* Combat with the Legions.

It is almost needless to take Notice, that none of *Antony's* Matters were a Secret at *Rome*. His Relapse into *Cleopatra's* Chains, and the bad Effects of it upon his Affairs, particularly upon the *Parthian Campaign*, were perfectly known to *Cæsar* and his Friends: and those who are acquainted with Life and with the Passions of *Men in Power*, will easily imagine what Effect the News had upon them. Piqued at the Affront offered to his Sister, *Cæsar* saw there was no Confidence to be put in his Colleague's Friendship: but as Things were not
ripe

ripe for an open Breach, he dissembled his Resentment, and joined in decreeing Thanksgivings to the Gods for *Antony's* Victory over the *Parthians*, — as the late *Lewis XIV.* used to order *Te Deum* to be sung in the Church of *Notre-Dame*, upon a Defeat.

These Festivals were otherways not unwelcome: for, after the Death of *Sextus Pompey* at *Rome*, the Prospects of Peace and good Order, from the reiterated Professions of the young *Cæsar*, so transported the remaining *Romans*, that, in his Return through the Cities of *Italy*, they received him with extraordinary — almost *divine* Honors; they consecrated him in every Town at least among their *tutelar Genii*, and if Praise and Gratitude could operate upon his Nature, gave him the greatest Incitements to become truly good. He had never tasted such Joy as upon the final Reduction of *Sicily*. The War had hung long, and been full of so many distressful Circumstances on his Side, that he seems at last to have lost all *Patience*; and in one of the Storms that swallowed up his Ships, he broke out into Blasphemies (would a *Roman Priest* say), ‘That, in Spite of the God of the Sea, he would make good his Victory!’ One would even suspect, that he had half-believed *Pompey's* Pretensions to be the Son of *Neptune*, when, at the next great Games, he forbid the Statue of that God to be carried in Procession through the *Circus* along with the other Deities; as if he meant to deprive him of his Divinity. But from this State of Anguish

and Despair, what *Raptures* must a complete Victory afford? He did not however formally triumph over his hereditary Foe, as he was a *Roman Citizen*; but elate with the pleasing Conquest, he orderd *Medals* of Gold and Silver to be struck, having on one Side the Bust of *Diana*, the tutelar Goddess of the Port of *Syracuse*, and the *Front* of the Temple on the other. Within it stood a Trophy bearing an Anchor and Helm of a Ship; on the Cornish, *Imp. Cæsar*, and in the Pediment, the *Tria Crura* (three Legs), the known Emblem of the triangular Isle. Others of these Medals, particularly one which I saw of Silver, have the same *Portico* and its Attributes on one Side; but the Reverse, instead of the Bust of *Diana*, bears the *Tria Crura* at large, with *Ears* of *Wheat* between them, expressing the Fertility of the great Granary of *Rome*. Join to these another Evidence of the deep Impressions which the varied Scenes of Danger, Distress and Victory must have made upon the Mind of *Cæsar*. In *Sicily* he had beheld the Forces of the four great Leaders in the Empire, assembled by Sea and Land: there he had seen *S. Pompey* at the Summit of naval Power, and *Lepidus* at the Head of a hundred thousand Men. This was the Theatre of the grand Drama of Fortune, where he had been a Spectator of her sovereign Sway, and seen her Favorites precipitated into Perdition by very different, or rather contrary Ways: for within a few Days of one another, he saw both *Pompey* and

Lepidus tumbled from the height of Grandeur⁷: but the first flying from an Enemy's Army, and the insignificant *Lepidus* from his own. These Scenes, I say, but especially the dreadful Night of Rain, Thunder, Earthquake, and Eruptions of Fire from Mount *Etna* (when without Tent or Equipage, he was forced to stand till Day-break under the hollow of a *Gallic Targe*) left such Traces in his Fancy, that no sooner was he at Leisure to indulge it, and according to the prevailing Mode, try his *Vein in Poetry*, than he produced a Work in heroic Verse, whose Title and Subject was *Sicily*. Pity it should have perished! We would both have had a curious specimen of *Cæsar's* Genius, and striking Pictures of the Whirl-pools *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, of the Cliffs, Caverns, Volcanos, and other natural Wonders of the most diversified Island in the World.

In Consequence, therefore, of the *Sicilian* Victory, which seemed to promise lasting Tranquillity, *Cæsar* was in high Spirits, and his Court was full of Mirth and Entertainments. At the same Time, as there was no Appearance of any Disturbance in the Spring, the Ministers found Leisure to attend to the *Embellishments* of Life, — to study the *finer Arts*, the Offspring of Learning, and to pay some Court to the *Mother*. In Effect, the *Prince* himself, the prime Minister, the leading Men in the Senate, and all shining

⁷ *Seneca*, N. Q. IV.

Characters then in *Rome*, were remarkable for *Scholarship*. But, to be able to judge of the general Taste of that Age, and to distinguish the particular *Manner* of the several Authors that adorned it, it will be necessary to take a comprehensive View of the *Roman* Literature, and for that Purpose, to trace it, in the next Book, to its genuine Source.

B O O K XI.

FOR the first five hundred Years from the Foundation of *Rome*, Arms and Agriculture had been the chief Employments of the Citizens¹: nor can any *two* in the whole Circle of human Affairs, be more properly joined together. A sturdy laboring Youth, bred in rural Sobriety and Toils, makes the hardiest *Soldier*, whom the Distresses and Hardships of a Campaign send chearful home to the Culture of his Farm. The *Plowman* feeds the Army; and in Return, the Army protects him in the Exercise of his healthful Trade, and in the Enjoyment of the Fruits of his Labor. The *old Romans* were a *rough, hardy* People; ² Men of Action and great bodily Strength, who knew nothing but the few plain Precepts of *Husbandry*, and the Points of their *military* Discipline. Nor were they so much occupied in studying the Theory even of *these*, as in putting them *tightly in Practice*. Perils from abroad, and Want

¹ Vol. I. p. 184.

² *Intonsus* Cato, *Curius incomptis capillis*, *Intonsi* avi, are the common Epithets. There was no *Barber* in Rome for the first four hundred and fifty Years; when *P. Tici-nius Mena* brought them first from *Sicily*. The elegant *Scipio* first shaved every Day: *Julius Caesar* and *Augustus* gave a Sanction to the Mode, which has continued ever since.

at home left little Room for curious Speculations. We accordingly find the Names of the most illustrious Families to have sprung originally from *Agriculture*: the *Fabii* from *Beans*, the *Lentuli* from *Lentils*, the *Cicero's* from *Vetches*; as each excelled in cultivating that particular Legume. In the noble *Junian* Family, the best Manager of Oxen got the Name of *Bubulcus*: Even in their holiest Rites, nothing was so sacred as eating together of the same *consecrated Corn*³. *Pulse* and *Salt* was their purest Sacrifice; and, in their Marriage-Ceremonies, a *Cake* was carried in solemn Procession before the Bride, a Custom which prevails, in one Shape or other, in most Countries in *Europe* to this Day. Among the first *Romans*, an ill-plowed Field was obnoxious to a *censorial* Punishment; and when they called any Person a good *Husbandman*, it included every good Quality, and was thought the very highest Commendation. Nor did the Distinctions of Rank, and the *Honors* of the State, take their Rise from any other Fountain. The *Roman* People was originally divided into *Town-Tribes* and *Country-Tribes*: of the former there were only four, denominated from the *Parts* of the City which they inhabited, the *Suburran*, *Palatine*, *Colline* and *Esquilian* Tribes; into any one of which it was a *Disgrace* to be transferred from a *Rustic* Tribe, because of their Infamy through Laziness. It was *Husbandry* that supplied all their Wants:

³ *Confarreatio*: Φαρφαρη, apud Dionys. Halicarn.

they took their Repose and Sleep upon wholesome Mattresses of *Straw*, and named Honor itself *Adorea*, as a Measure of Corn was the Reward of Bravery*. In *this Way* of Life, and with *these Manners*, the ancient *Romans* had not only Abundance of Bread-corn without importing a Bushel from abroad; but Wheat was incredibly cheap in *Rome*, though their Farms were surprisingly small. The famed *Manius Curius*, after adding a great Tract to the *Roman Territory*, said in a public Speech, 'that he was a pernicious Member of the State, who could not be contented with *seven Acres* of Land;' which was the Measure assigned to the Commons, after the Expulsion of the *Tarquin-Family*.

What then, says the intelligent *Pliny*, whom I am partly transcribing, *what* could be the Cause of such vast Fertility? — Why the arable Grounds were then manured by the Hands of Magistrates and Generals; and the Soil, it should seem, delighted in a *laurelled Share* and a *triumphal Plowman*. But the real Reason was, that these great Men managed their Husbandry with the *same Spirit* they conducted their Armies, and laid out their Fields with the *same Judgment* they pitched

Quid debeas, O *Roma*, *Neronibus*,
 Testis *Metaurum flumen*, & *Hasdrubal*
 Devictus, & pulcher fugatis
 Ille dies *Latio tenebris*,
 Qui primus alma risit *Adorea*.

Horat. Carm. l. IV. Ode IV.

their Camps — as indeed every Thing prospers best that is done by the Master, or at least under his Eye. The first News of his voted Honors found the famed *Attilius Serranus* busy sowing his Field with his own Hand; whence he had his celebrated Name. *Quintus Cincinnatus* was plowing his four paternal Acres in the *Vatican Hill* (now alas! in different Hands), when the public Serjeant came to notify to him that he was elected Dictator. They say he found him next to naked, and his Face quite besmeared with Dust; when, after a Pause, ‘Cover your Body,’ said the Serjeant, ‘that I may deliver the Decree of the Senate and People of Rome.’ And can we wonder, that Mother Earth does not now teem with the same Crops, when she is tilled by the Hands of Slaves, dug by shackled Feet, and overlooked by stigmatized Faces? Will the reluctant Labors of Jail-Birds, working under the Scourge, produce the same Effects as the personal Pains of the Master, and the watchful Care of the Father of the Family? Let us listen to some of their common *Maxims*, that will paint their Manners better than any Description. ‘He is a thrifless Farmer,’ said they, ‘that buys any Thing which his Farm can produce. He is no good Husbandman, who does any Work in the

— — Parvoque potentem
Fabricium: vel te fulco, *Serrane*, ferentem.

Virgil.

‘ Day-time *that can be done in the Night, except*
‘ *in stormy Weather.* He is a worse one who
‘ *does on Work-days, what he may do on Holy-*
‘ *days;* and the worst of all, who in a clear
‘ *Sky, works within Doors, rather than in the*
‘ *Field*’ — The finest Manure for a Farm is *the*
Eye of its Master; whose Villa, they said, should
invite him to the Country, as his *Face* does
more good to his Fields, than his *Back-parts.*
The Women too had their Share of the Labor;
for, *where the Kitchen-Garden is in Disorder,*
there must, they said, *be a worthless House-wife,*
as it belonged to the Mistress to provide for the
Family, who must be supported from the Sham-
bles, if Vegetables failed.

A *Life* led in the intense Labor which such
Precepts necessarily imply, and interspersed with
frequent military Toils when the exigencies of
the State called to Arms, is as incompatible
with Study and Literature on one Hand, as with
Luxury and Laziness on the other. But, even
when this their Virtue had produced Plenty at
home, and Respite from Wars abroad, they
employed their Leisure in no *curious Pursuits;*
but in acquiring the useful Knowledge of their
own Laws, and communicating it to their De-
pendents. A noble Roman’s Gate was thrown
open by *six* in the morning; he himself was
ready to receive his consulting Clients, and
direct them in the Forms of the Courts, and
Management of their Affairs till *nine,* when he
put on his Senatorial Robe, and walked down

to the *Forum*, to attend their, and his own Business'. In this Way of living, the *Romans* were a frugal, conquering, high-disciplined People; — but quite *illiterate*, and ignorant, to a Proverb, of what did not concern their own immediate Affairs. *Action* and *Execution* employed both Heads and Hands, and made a *learned Roman* a Sort of Miracle.

Among such Men, if there were any Sparks of Knowledge, they lay lurking in the Books of the *Pontifical Law*, wrapped up in Superstition, and a *mystical Philosophy* handed down from *Numa*, which was afterwards embodied with the *Tuscan Discipline*. We will soon have an Opportunity to illustrate the latter, along with the *Roman Religion*; but the Story of *Numa's* Books is extremely curious, and belongs immediately to our Subject.

In the Grounds, says *Livy*, of *Lucius Petilius* a Scrivener, at the Foot of *Janiculum* (now *Montorio* in the *Traftevere*), while Day-laborers were trenching a little deeper than ordinary, they hit upon two Coffins of Stone, eight Foot long and four Foot broad, having their Covers bound with Lead, and each inscribed with *Greek* and *Latin* Letters; importing 'that the one contained the Body of *Numa Pompilius*

*Romæ dulce diu fuit & solenne, reclusa
Mane domo vigilare, clienti promere jura,
Majores audire, minori dicere. — — —*

Horat.

‘son of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans*, and
‘that the other contained *his Books*.’ By the
Advice and in Presence of his Friends, *Petilius*
opened the Coffins, and found that which was
said to contain the King’s Body entirely empty:
in the other were *two Bundles*, wrapped about
with Match-Rope or Candle-Wick, consisting
each of *seven Books*, not only entire, but *fair*
and *fresh* as if newly writ. The first seven con-
tained the *Pontifical Law*, in the Latin Ton-
gue: the others were writ in Greek, and con-
tained such Doctrines of Wisdom and Know-
ledge as prevailed in the Age of *Numa*.

The Credibility of this Story depends, prin-
cipally, upon the Faith of an old Writer,
Cassius Hemina. In the fourth of his Annals he
tells, with some Variation of Circumstances,
that it was one *Cn. Terentius* who dug up the
Coffins, and found the Books laid upon a
square Stone, wrapped quite round with Candle-
Wicks, and placed in the Middle of the Cof-
fin; that they were of the *Egyptian Plant Pa-
pyrum*, of which that wonderful Structure they
called *Charta*, was first made; that they had
been rubbed with *Cedar-Oil*, which preserved
them from Moths and rotting, though they
had lain upwards of five hundred and thirty
Years; for so long it was from the Death of
Numa to the Consulate of *P. Cornel. Cethegus*,
and *M. Bebius Tamphilus*, when the Coffers
were discovered. But *Hemina* appears to have
been mistaken in the Name by the Sequel of the

Story, which demonstrates how *strangely* the Romans stood affected towards Learning, even in the Year DLXXII, when their Conquests of the Grecian Towns in Italy (Crotona, Naples, and Tarento), the Possession of Sicily, and Intercourse with the Attalic Kings, had taught them to speak Greek by Rote rather than Study; just as we spoke French under our Henrys and Edwards, in Virtue of our Conquests in France. For Petilius, continues Livy, having entertained himself and his Friends with the Perusal of Numa's philosophic Pieces; they became the Subject of public Conversation; and Quintus Petilius, who happened to be then Town-Pretor (that is, exercising the Office of Lord high Chancellor in Rome), borrowed them of his Secretary Lucius, as a Curiosity. But, having read over the Contents of the several Treatises, and perceived that they prescribed Rites for *unloosing men from the Ties of Religion*⁷; he called his Secretary, and told him, that he intended to commit the Books he had borrowed of him to the Flames: but that, before he executed his Intention, if he (Lucius) conceived that he had any Right or Resource to reclaim them, he might freely prosecute it without incurring his Displeasure. Lucius Petilius applied to the Tribunes, who, thinking themselves no proper Judges, referred the Matter to the Senate. The Pretor then

⁷ Eos libros esse dissolvendarum religionum.

assured the Fathers , that he was ready to make Oath , *that it was not meet that these Books should be read , or preserved ;* when the Senate, without farther Inquiry , resolved , ‘ That the Pretor’s proffered Oath was sufficient Ground of Satisfaction , and therefore ordained that the Books should be publicly burnt with all Expedition , and such a Price paid for them to the Possessor , as should seem good to Q. Petilius the Pretor , and to the major Part of the Tribunes of the People.’ That Price the Secretary declined receiving , and , an Under-servant of the Priests having made a Fire in the Forum , the Books were burnt , the first grand Assembly , in Sight of the whole People of Rome !

Twenty Years there after , the same Dread of Learning and Aversion to Philosophy , still prevailed among the Romans. Upon a Motion made by M. Pomponius , Town-Pretor too , the Senate passed a Vote , ‘ That whereas Mention had been made of certain Persons , called Philosophers and Orators , the Fathers gave it as their Opinion , that the Inspection of that Affair should be committed to M. Pomponius , who should take Care , as it appeared to him for the Good of the Common - wealth , and consistent with his Duty , *that such Persons should not be suffered to stay in Rome.*

But an Edict of the Censors , about that Time, Cn. Domitius Enobarbus , the Admiral’s Grandfather , and L. Licinius Crassus , gives the most

lively Picture of *Roman* Roughness. It ran thus : ‘ Whereas it hath been reported to Us, ‘ that there are Men now in *Rome* who have ‘ set up a new Sort of Education, and have ‘ assumed to themselves the Name of *Latin Rhetoricians*, to whose Schools the Youth resorts, ‘ and sits idly spending the whole Day : We ‘ therefore announce and declare, that our Forefathers have already appointed what they ‘ would have their Children to learn, and what ‘ Schools they would have them to frequent. ‘ As for these *Novelties*, which are introduced, ‘ contrary to the Practice and Customs of our ‘ Ancestors, they neither appear *right* in themselves, nor do *We* approve : Wherefore we ‘ think it our Duty to acquaint both those who ‘ keep the said Schools, and those who frequent them, with our censorial Opinion, *that they abstain from such Practices for the future.*’

Under these strong Prejudices, *Learning* stole upon the *Romans*, if I may so say, *against their Will*. It first crept in by the Door of *Superstition*, which introduced the rude Beginnings of the *Stage*. In modern Times it would scarce be thought credible, that *Religion* should be the Parent of *Plays* ; but it held true, both at the *Birth* of the old *Roman Theatre*, and likewise of the modern *Italian*, when *Europe* was regenerated from *Barbarity*. It was on such high Festivals as *Easter* and *Christmas*, that the strolling *Italian Actors* represented *Adam* and *Eve*, *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, *Moses* and *Pharaoh* ; and

that the *French* Comedians issued their Play-Bills , for the whole *Acts of the Apostles* to be played in a Carneval. These , it is true , were afterwards suppressed by the Wisdom of that august Body the Parliament of *Paris*. — But Plays continued a Part of the *Roman* Religion while their State lasted , and took their Rise in this Manner.

About the CCCXC. Year of the City , a Pestilence raged long at *Rome* , of which the famed *Furius Camillus* died , five - and - twenty years after he had rescued it from the *Gauls*. They tried every Method of Cure that could be devised ; but finding the Fury of the Disease nothing diminished either by human nor divine Prescriptions , they abandoned themselves to *Superstition* ; and , among other Propitiations of the Wrath of Heaven , *Stage - Plays* were said to be introduced. It was a new Sight to a warlike People who had only seen the Games in the *Circus* ; and the *Beginnings* of this foreign Entertainment were like those of most other Things , very inconsiderable. A few Players , or rather *Dancers* , were procured from *Tuscany* , who without any *Words* or *poetical Composition* , without any *Action* adapted to a Character , only danced to the Flute after the graceful *Tuscan* Manner. These the *Roman* Youth began afterwards to imitate on their Festivals , and amid their dancing to jeer one another in a rude extemporary Strain , to which

they adapted the Gambols of their Dance'. This Manner of diverting the Multitude being favorably received, and polished by frequent Practice, the Performers began to abandon their former rude Raillery in alternate Lines, and to act premeditated Satires, that is *miscellaneous Pieces*, writ in Verse, and set to the Flute, which they pronounced with Gestures befitting the Character and Subject. A few Years thereafter, *Livius Andronicus*, a Freedman of the celebrated *Salinator*', was the first who from mere satirical Dialogue, set to Music, ventured to introduce a *Fable* or *Plot* into his poetical Performance. The Poet and Player were then one and the same Person (as was in our own Country the admired Mr. *William Shakespeare*); and had the double Task of *singing* or *saying* the Verses, and of *dancing* or *acting* the Character which they described. *Andronicus*, *Livy's* Slave, was a native of *Greece*', whose

Agricolæ prisca, fortes, parvoque beati,
 Conditæ post frumenta, levantes tempore festo
 Corpus, & ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
 Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant.
 Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem,
 Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.

Horat.

⁹ See Vol. I. P. 91.

^r He seems to have made the *First* Translation of *Homer's* Works into Latin; unless his *Odyssey* be the Name of a Play. See *A. Gell. Lib. VII. § 2.*

Genius

Genius and Learning not only procured him his Liberty, and made him *Tutor* to his Master's Children, but raised him afterwards to be the *Favorite* of the *Roman* People: for so delighted were they with his Performance on the Stage, and so charmed with a solemn Hymn of his Composition, which the sudden Turn of the *second Punic War* made them firmly believe *the Gods had heard*², that they assigned to him a Porch of the Temple of *Pallas* on the *Aventine Hill*, where he might represent his own Plays, and where his Scholars and Admirers might erect *Statues* in Honor of the *Poet*. Yet his Pieces must either have been wondrous *simple*; or he must have assumed many different Characters in their Recital; since he himself was for some Time the sole Actor, assisted only by the Music of a Flute. The Progress from this extreme Simplicity to the vast Pomp of both the ancient and modern Theatre deserves our Attention.

² *Carminē Dī superi placantur, Carminē Manes.*

Horat.

I take this to be the Hymn which his Namesake, *Titus Livius* the Historian, says seven-and-twenty young Ladies were getting by Heart, to sing it in Honor of *Juno*, when the Lightning glanced upon her Temple: they afterwards sung it walking in Procession, and dancing to their own Music: the Historian with his usual Candor adds, *that perhaps in that rude Age, Livy's Verse might sound sweet to the Ear; but would now appear harsh and uncouth, were it repeated.*

The Romans having got this first Taste of the Stage , grew so fond of *Andronicus* and of his Plays , that they persecuted him with perpetual acting ; and recalled him so often to sing his own Compositions , that at Length *his Voice broke* , and he was forced to beg Leave to introduce a Youth , who should stand before the Musician , and *sing* the *recitative* Part for his Relief. When this was granted, it was observed, that the *Poet* (that is, the *Player*) performed the Piece with more Spirit , and represented the Passions with a more lively Gesture than formerly , as he was not now obliged *constantly* to strain his Voice ; — and from thence the Custom of having *one to bear a Part* , and *sing* to the Players , was first introduced , and nothing but the *Dialogue* was left to be spoke by the chief Actor ³.

Few Things have been more misunderstood than the *Rise* of ancient Plays , and few Passages have more tortured the Critics than this Account of them from the Historian *Livy* , which I have endeavoured to make intelligible. It will be still clearer , if we reflect , that *M. Dacier's* curious Remark of the *similar Origin* of the Greek and Roman Drama is certainly true ; that *both* arose from the rude Mirth of Clowns dancing on holy Days ; from *their* extemporary Scoffs in alternate

³ Inde ad manum cantari histrionibus cœptum , *Diverbiaque* tantum ipsorum voci relicta.

Verse , (an Image of which we have in *Virgil's* III. and VII. Pastoral), came first to be formed a *varied Tale* , or *Satire* , in which these Scofts were included , and which the Droll or Player *sung* to the rustic Meeting , while at the same Time he *acted* the Parts as they occurred in the Tale or Song. Would any of our modern Ballad - Singers take an old historical *Ditty* (so our Forefathers called a Song set to Music), where the introduced Persons upbraided threatened, or fought with one another , and *sing* it to their motley Audience, *acting* the Parts as they went along , it would be precisely the primitive *Greek and Roman Comedy*. This Manner of *acting* continued long in *Greece* , even in the politest Times , and when their Theatre was resounding with those masterly Draughts of Nature, made by *Eschylus* and *Sophocles* , it still admitted the *Epic* or narrative Rhapsodists , who *sung* a Tale from *Panyasis* or *Homer* , and *acted* the Characters as they went along. The deep and surprising Effect , which this seeming - simple Manner of performing had upon the Audience, is exquisitely painted in *Plato's Ion* , a Dialogue, so inscribed from the Name of the Rhapsodist, who there talks in the true Spirit of his Profession.

The Year after *Livius Andronicus* had presented his first Play , that is in CCCCX , was Q. *Ennius* born in a little *Greek Town* , called *Rudié* near *Tarento*. For the first *Roman Poets* were either

genuine Grecians, or Natives of the *Greek Cities* founded on the East and South of *Italy*. Such was the famous satirical Comedian, *Nevius*, born in *Campania*, and *Ennius*' Nephew, *Pacuvius*, born at *Brindisi*; the punning *Plautus* was of *Sarsina*; and the smiling *Terence*, though a *Carthaginian*, seems to have early imbibed the *Grecian Literature*. *C. Cecilius*, the grave Comedian and Critic, was formed by *Ennius*, in the same Manner as Mr. *Racine* was modelled by the great *Corneille*, and *Congreve* by Mr. *Dryden*; while the sublime *Accius* had *Pacuvius* first for his Master, and then for his Companion; writing together like *Fletcher* and *Beaumont*. Hence it is easy to conclude, that these Writers would take the first Plans of their Plays from *Grecian Originals*, and principally from the buffoonish satirical Authors of the *old Comedy*. This appears, both from the *Names* of their Plays still upon Record, which are generally *Greek*, especially their *Tragedies*, and from the *Stories* of their *Lives* and *Adventures*. *Ennius* said he had *three Hearts* or *Souls*, because he could speak three *Languages*, *Latin*, *Oscan*, and *Greek*: and that, according to the *Pythagorean Doctrine* of *Transmigration*, he was the fifth from *Euphorbus*. His first Plays were upon *Livy's Plan*, answering exactly to the *Inscription* put with great *Propriety* by the learned *Ben. Jonson* upon his *Poetaster* and some other Pieces, *A comical Satire*. He likewise wrote *Hymns*, and *Tragedies* borrowed from the *Greek*, many of whose *Titles*

are upon Record. But his chief Work was a Heroic Poem of the *Wars* of the *Romans*, particularly the Conquest of *Etolia* and the *second Punic War*. He divided it into Campaigns, and therefore called it *Annals*; the twelfth and last of which he wrote in the sixty-seventh Year of his Age. It was a Poem of high Spirit, full of daring Metaphors, and expressed in truly *martial* Language: for *Ennius* was not only an ingenious, but a *brave* and *worthy* Man*. He was first brought to *Rome* by the severe *Cato*, when Questor in *Sardinia* under *Scipio*, and whom he had the Honor afterwards to teach *Greek*, when that rigid Senator opened his Eyes at sixty, and saw the Necessity of the Learning he had despised. But before that Conversion, *Ennius* had followed the great Consul *Fulvius Nobilior* into *Etolia*, was Tutor to his Son, — and at last became almost Companion of the best and greatest Personage *Rome* ever produced, I mean *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed the *African*'. The Conqueror of *Hannibal* was the *Hero* of *Ennius*' Poem; and is

* Apud Senec. Ep. CVIII.

' *Tullius Cicero* has done more Honor to *Homer* and *Scipio* by two short disinterested Questions, than his longest Panegyrics have done to *Pompey* and *Cæsar*: *Numquis igitur* (says he of *Scipio Africanus*) *talis fuit*? Was there ever *such* another Man? And of the Poet, At certe nullus similis *Homeri*. Surely no body was ever equal to *Homer*.
De Divinat. Lib. II.

painted by him in two strong Lines, that leave
an Idea of exalted Merit:

— *cui nemo civis neque hostis*
Quivit pro factis reddere op'ræ pretium.

— whose Deeds defy his Friends — defy
his Foes,
In Good or Ill to make him a Return.

Eminence of Character, like a Loadstone, attracts Envy; and in free States seldom escapes poetical Petulance. *Cn. Nevius*, in the Height of *Scipio's* Power and Reputation, dared to bring a juvenile Adventure of his upon the Stage, and introduce a Youth screening his own Frailties by so great an Example.

No wonder I should be a slave to Love,
Since he whose Head is justly crown'd with
Glory,
Whose warlike Arm has gather'd many a
Laurel,
Whom Fame now carries on her Wings,
and Nations
Proclaim the first of Men — was by his Father
Led home in deshabille snatch'd from his
Mistress.

The most amiable Part of *Scipio's* Character was his Temperance and Moderation; and that Virtue never shone brighter than in the Restoration.

of the beauteous *Celtiberian* Bride to her Lover and Husband. Scarce an Author who has mentioned the Reduction of *Spain* or Conquest of *Carthage*, but has celebrated the Self-command of the youthful Victor; and the admirable Representations of that glorious Action by *Carra-che* and *Pouffin*, have contributed to keep alive the Fame of it in modern Times. Yet upon the Authority of the satirical *Nevius*, whose Abuse of the greatest Men sent him sometimes to poetize in Prison, one sole Writer (*Valerius* of *Antium*) ventured to discredit the Fact, and to affirm, that *Scipio* did not return the captive Lady, but kept her for his private Pleasure. In this Assertion, *Valerius*, who loved to contradict*, stands alone; and the Adventure described in the Verses, supposing it to be real, serves only to enhance the Merit of the young Hero's after-Moderation.

The Favor of two such Persons as *Fulvius* and *Scipio*, is at once a convincing Proof of the personal Worth of the Poet and of the Taste of his Patrons for Learning. That Taste must have made some Progress in *Rome*, when *Fulvius* at his Return from his *Etolian* Expedition could build a Temple *Ἡρακλεὶ Μεγαχετῇ*, To *Hercules* President of the *Muses*, and dedicate in it the Statues of the *Nine*, which he had brought over from *Ambracia*, now *Larta*, the Capital of *Epirus*, and royal Seat of *Pyrrhus*. We owe

* Vid. A. Gell. Lib. VII. § 19.

the exact Knowledge of this Fact to *Eumenius* the Rhetorician under *Constantius**, who, in his Speech for repairing the Schools of *Autun* and *Cleves* ruined by the *Baccaude* (Banditti or Outlaws) explains the Protection given by *Hercules* to the Muses in the warlike Character of the Grecian Hero; but it was the *Egyptian* and *Phenician Hercules* who ruled and protected the melodious Train; and whom we now know to be the same God with the *Grecian Apollo*. But this Temple to *Hercules* and the Muses, so early reared by a *Roman Cenfor*, having fallen to Decay, was repaired and beautified, and a magnificent *Portico* added by the good *Lucius Philip*, Father-in-law to the young *Cæsar*, and Grandfather to the greatest Beauty that shone in *Rome*. I mention the *Portico*, as it is frequently alluded to by the subsequent Poets, and the Lady, the celebrated *Marcia*, as her Relation to *Philip* and by him to *Cæsar*, illustrates the otherwise obscure Conclusion of *Ovid's Fasti*, the most learned and useful of that Poet's Works. These *Fasti* were a Kind of *Ritual*, or *historical Calendar*, indicating the *Dies fasti* & *nefasti*, that is, the Feasts, the holy and inauspicious Days through every Month of the Year, together with the *Reasons* of each sacred or civil Institution. How early they were kept on Record in *Rome*, is difficult to fix:

* His Salary was 600,000 nummi; or almost L. 5000 a Year.

I take *Numa's Carmen Saliare*, or the *Hymn* sung by the dancing Priests of *Mars* on the first Day of the new Year, to have been the *Original* of this sacred Calendar, as it expressed the Nature and Attributes of every God in *Numa's* Ritual; among whom the Name of *Venus* did not appear, which they afterwards received from the Eastern *Tuscans* *. *Horace* pretends that the Language of it was not intelligible in his Time; and we may believe him — But it might be still intelligible in the Days of *Ennius*, whose Patron, the *Etolian* Conqueror, dedicated in his Temple of the Muses, a *Book of Fasti*°, which I suppose has been of *Ennius's* Composition. That the Temples were the ancient Repositories of Learning, and especially of *public Records*, is generally known. Those kept in the Shrines of the *East* are celebrated by all Historians; and we have valuable Abstracts of them preserved in the Collection of our *sacred Scriptures*. When *Cæsar* was beginning to repair the decayed Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, he found an old Inscription upon a *Linen-*

* *Cincius* in eo libro, quem de *Fastis* reliquit, ait — ne in carminibus quidem Saliorum, *Veneris* ullam laudem, ut cæterorum Cœlestium celebrari. *Cincio* etiam *Varro* consentit, affirmans, ne sub regibus quidem nomen *Veneris* apud Romanos vel Latinum vel Græcum fuisse

Macrob. Saturn. Lib. I. § 12.

° Nam *Fulvius Nobilior* in *Fastis*, quos in æde *Herculis* Musarum posuit.

Macrob. Saturn. Lib. I. § 12.

Thorax or Breast-plate, importing 'that *Cornelius Cossus* was Consul, when with his own Hand he killed the faithless *Fidenian* King, *Tolumnius*, and hung up his *opima Spolia* (prime Spoils) the second after *Romulus*, to this 'Deity': and *Licinius Macer* frequently quoted a Manuscript writ upon *Linen-Cloth*, containing a *Record of the Roman Magistrates*, laid up in the old Temple of the Goddess *Juno Moneta*², or the *Monitress*, in which was likewise the *Roman Mint*, that gave Rise to the Name of *Money*. In the same Manner *Ennius*' historical and theological Work was laid up in the Temple of the *President* of the *Muses*. He had the Honor, as I said, to be brought first to *Rome* by the keen and inflexible *Cato*; which *Cornelius Nepos* affirms to have been an Acquisition equal to a *Triumph*. Yet that same *Cato* could afterwards in open Senate reproach *Fulvius Nobilior* with having (among other Things tending to relax their military Discipline) carried such loose People as *Poets* and *Players* in his Retinue to a Province full of War and Bloodshed. How shall we reconcile these? By supposing that *Cato*

¹ *Augustum Cæsarem ingressum ædem Feretrii Jovis, quam vetustate dilapsam refecit, in Thorace linteo scriptum legisse, &c.*

Tit. Liv. Hist. Lib. IV.

² Tum veteres Annales — *Magistratum Libri*, quos linteos in æde repositos *Moneta* Macer Licinius identidem citat. Ibid.

imagined the *Mobile of Rome* might he lawfully entertained at their public Shows by a Person, whom it did not become a *Roman Consul* (supreme in Matters civil and military) to make his Companion, or carry along to a dangerous Campaign. No Doubt this would be an Article of Accusation against the mild *Scipio*: for he too had *Ennius* constantly in his Train in his last Expeditions; nay so much did he love and admire the Man that in his latter Will he commanded the Poet's Statue to be placed upon his Tomb. The great *Genius*, and the agreeable Friend deserved it; if Love and Admiration have any Merit: for besides his chief Work, of the *Punic War*, where this Hero appeared in every Page, *Ennius* seems to have writ a Panegyric on his *private Virtues*, which he inscribed *Scipio*, and to which *Horace* refers in his Discourse upon Satire addressed to *Trebatius*. We may therefore conclude, that what the *Roman Bard felt*, and *saw*, and *acted*, that he painted in his martial Poems. Had they reached our Times, and his *Battles* especially been compared with those described by other *peaceful Poets*, I cannot doubt but they would have appeared like *living Originals* beside a *labored Picture*.

In the under-Parts of his Poetry, such as the Artifice of Composition and polishing his Verse³.

³ *Cæterum nitor, & summa in excolendis operibus manus, magis videri potest temporibus, quam ipsis priscis Poetis defuisse, says the candid Quintilian.*

that both *Cicero* and *Virgil* were obliged, contrary to their own Judgment, to employ antiquated Terms, in Complaisance to the reigning *Ennian* Taste⁴: and yet, so late as *Trajan*, we find the People flocking to the Theatre in *Pozzuolo* to hear *Ennius*' Works publicly read by a Person of a clear Voice and distinct Pronunciation, who called himself an *Ennianist*⁵. This perfectly agrees with the Character which *Horace* says he bore among his Countrymen, of being wise, and brave, and another *Homer*⁶; a Character to which we do not sufficiently attend, because of the subjoined *Sneer* which I have just mentioned: but I will give a grand Presumption that it was real, from his Description of a Man of Worth, where it was generally believed he sat to his own Picture. He introduces a great *Roman* just taking Leave of the Council, and retiring from the Business of the Day, to disburden and refresh himself at home — He recites a Part of his Speech in public, and then adds, in strong natural Language,

*Thus having said, he call'd the Man he lov'd
His Guest, Companion, Friend; — to whom
he wont*

T'unbosom freely every Care and Thought;

⁴ Apud A. Gell. Lib. XII. § 2.

⁵ Ibid. Lib. XVIII. § 5.

⁶ *Ennius* & sapiens, & fortis, & alter *Homerus*.

Ad August.

*And at the Close of each revolving Day
 With Him to canvass every Point that pass'd
 In Field or Forum, or in solemn Senate.
 To him quite open, weighty Things and slight —
 Both Jest and Earnest, good and bad he trusted —
 Or soothing Sentiments, or Passions fell,
 Delights, Disgusts — th' Effusions of his
 Heart.*

*This Partner of his Pleasures and his Cares
 Bore in his Breast a Soul no Gold could bribe
 To do a wicked Deed: mild — unsuspicious —
 Yet quick, sagacious, sweetly entertaining:
 Of flowing Wit and Language, on Occasion;
 But wisely-learned, — not of many Words:
 And tho' deep skill'd in Story, and a Master
 Of Manners, new and old — tho' vers'd in Laws
 Both human and divine, who well could keep
 His Talents in Subjection; and as Time —
 As Place and Persons call'd, could either shine
 In Strains of varied Science, — or sit pleas'd
 In unaffected Silence. — —*

Here, said the elegant Critic *Elius Stilo*, *Ennius* described his own Character, and painted the high Place he held in the Esteem and Familiarity of the incomparable *Scipio* ⁷ — a Place that in my Opinion does almost equal Honor to them both; as it is at once a Proof of the Merit of the Man of Letters, and of the superior sterling Worth,

⁷ Apud *A. Gellium*, Lib. XII. § 4.

if I may use the Term, of his illustrious Patron. — Many a *Dignitary* looks big without Doors, whose private Life will not endure a Scrutiny; and many a State-Pageant, by Means of certain Connexions, is decorated with Power and Places, who cannot bear the piercing Eye of a Man of Parts and Learning. The Tinsel falls off at the first Search, and shows the secret Baldness and Deformity — But *Scipio* and *Ennius* are mutual Vouchers for one another's Parts, Probity, and superior Manners.

I have given a more particular Account of *this* Poet and of *Livius Andronicus*, because I look upon them as the *first Parents* of Learning among the *Romans*. For the public Entertainment received from their Plays (which were generally *strong, rough* Sketches from *Grecian* Originals) became of Course the Subject of People's Conversation at home, and thereby diffused the *Grecian* Learning, — raising a Curiosity to hear still more of the Characters and Adventures of the *Heroes* whom they saw represented. — thence the common Phrase, that appears so strange to us, *docere Fabulam*, to *teach* the *Roman* People a Play; that is, to inform them of the History upon which the Tragedy turned, of the Characters of the chief Persons concerned, and of the Moral or Lesson that was to be drawn from the mighty Event. For their Plays were not calculated merely to *divert* and *amuse*; or they stood exposed to censure if their Aim

was no higher * : they were originally *severe*, and *instructed* to their very Prologues. What Honor does it to the lively laughing *Plautus*, or rather to the Taste of his heroic Audience, that at the End of the first Act of his *Cistellaria*, or Comedy of the *Casket*, he could (contrary to dramatic Rules) introduce a second Sort of Prologue, who in going off the Stage, durst venture to turn, and thus accost the Spectators — ?

ROMANS! *adieu!*

*Health, Happiness, and Victory attend you
Gain'd by true Virtue — Go — war as you are
wont —*

*Protect your old Allies — acquire new Friends —
Increase your Aids — bring home Applause and
Laurels —*

*Tread down Rome's Foes, and with your well-
train'd Legions,*

*Take Vengeance on the false oft-Vanquish'd
Carthaginian.*

How nicely does this Deduction of *Facts* agree with *Horace's* Account of the Rise of Learning in *Italy*? *Greece* when subdued, says he, made a

Ergo non satis est risu deducere rictum

Auditoris — —

[like *Laberius*]

Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc

Securus, cadat, an recto stet fabula talo — —

says *Horace* of some loose Plays of *Dossennus*, calculated merely to raise Laughter.

Conquest

Conquest, in her Turn, of the savage Conqueror, and introduced *Arts* and *Sciences* into rustic *Rome*. By this Means the rugged Style of the primitive Ages gave Way, and clownish Satire was banished by Politeness: but yet for many a Day there did, and do still remain, deep Prints of our first Rusticity: for it was late ere the *Romans* began to apply to the *Grecian Literature*; and found Leisure, after the Wars with *Carthage*, to consider what good Use could be made of *Thespis*, *Eschylus*, and *Sophocles*, the *Grecian* Tragedians. Then they proceeded to attempt Translations of them into *Latin*, and were hugely pleased with their own Success: 'For our Genius, says that able Judge, is keen and noble, breathes Abundance of the tragic Spirit, and takes no unhappy Flights of its own: but we cannot endure the Labor of correcting, and are shy to blot a fair written Page.'

It is no great Compliment to my Country, to say, that one would almost think that *Horace* had been painting the *British* Genius, while he described the *Roman*; and had their old Tragedies been preserved, their *Achilles* or *Alcmæon*, their *Iphigenia* or *Andromache*, and compared with our own, we would have found our sublime *Ennius* in *Shakspeare*, and our learned *Pacuvius* in *Ben. Jonson*.

But hear now another ingenious, though perhaps not impartial Apology for the long illiterate *Romans*. The Bias that appears in it reflects no

Disshonor on the great Author ; for if there is such a Thing in the World as a *venial* Sin, it must surely be Partiality to our native Country.

‘ It was always my Opinion, says he, that
‘ we *Romans* either invented more happily than
‘ the *Grecians*, or that we much *improved* what-
‘ ever we thought worth borrowing from them.
‘ For as to our *Manners* and the Conduct of
‘ Life — the Management of our Families and
‘ private Concerns, we undoubtedly govern
‘ them better than they. With Respect to the
‘ *Commonwealth*, every body knows that our
‘ great Ancestors tempered it with Laws and
‘ Customs superior to those of *their* States. Our
‘ *Military* I need not mention — in which the
‘ *Romans* outstrip them both in personal Bravery,
‘ and infinitely more in the general Discipline.
‘ In other Things, which are rather attained by
‘ the Strength of Nature and Genius than by
‘ Learning, there is no Nation, *Greeks* or *Bar-*
‘ *barians*, that can compare with us. For among
‘ what People was there ever found such Con-
‘ stancy, such Gravity and Greatness of Soul,
‘ — such Probity and Truth, as to come in
‘ Competition with the *Romans*? *Greece* surpas-
‘ sed us indeed in *Knowledge*, and in all Sorts
‘ of Learning, in which it was easy to obtain a
‘ Superiority which no body disputed. For with-
‘ out Doubt the first Sort of learned Men in
‘ the World were the *Poets*; and *Homer* and
‘ *Hesiod* flourished before the building of *Rome*,
‘ as *Archilochus* was contemporary with its

‘ *Founder*. But among Us, that Art made its
 ‘ Appearance much later; for *Livius (Andronicus)*
 ‘ presented his first Play the CCCCX Year of
 ‘ the City, and one before *Ennius* was born,
 ‘ who was elder than *Nevius*’ and *Plautus*. —
 ‘ And even when it did appear, the Character
 ‘ of a *Poet* was but in low Esteem; as is evident
 ‘ from that Speech of *Cato*, where he reproaches
 ‘ *M. Nobilior* with having carried *Poets* with him
 ‘ into his Province. (every Body knows that
 ‘ *Ennius* had attended him into *Etolia*.) Now
 ‘ the less *Regard* that was paid to *Poets*, the less
 ‘ cultivated was their Art; though at the same
 ‘ Time the Men of Genius in that Way amongst
 ‘ us have come nothing short of the *Grecian*
 ‘ Glory. But had it turned to the Honor of
 ‘ *Fabius*, for Example, that though a *Patrician*
 ‘ he was an able Painter, can we imagine there
 ‘ would not have been many *Parhasii* and *Polycletes*
 ‘ at *Rome*? It is *Honor* that cherishes the *Arts*, and
 ‘ the Hopes of Glory that inflame the noble Am-
 ‘ bition to excel; so that in every Nation that
 ‘ Profession is always at the lowest Ebb, which
 ‘ is the least esteemed. To understand *Music*,
 ‘ both vocal and instrumental, the *Grecians* thought
 ‘ a high Accomplishment: wherefore *Epaminon-*
 ‘ *das*, in my Judgment their greatest Patriot,

‘ *Nevius* exhibited his first Play in the DXIX Year of
Rome, having served some Campaigns in the first Punic
 War, which began Anno CCCCXC, and lasted full four-
 and - twenty Years.

' is said to have sung admirably to the Lute —
 ' as *Themistocles*, some Years before, was repu-
 ' ted *ill-bred* for having refused to play at an
 ' Entertainment. *Greece* of Consequence swarmed
 ' with great Musicians — every body learned to
 ' sing or play; and he who did not, was thought
 ' to have had a *lame* Education. Among them
 ' *Geometry* too was in high Repute, and accord-
 ' ingly their *Mathematicians* are the noblest in the
 ' World; whereas we *circumscribe* that Science,
 ' and confine it to the Practice of Mensuration,
 ' or to improve a Method of reasoning.

' On the other Hand, the *Romans*, who des-
 ' pised the *Painter*, the *Musician*, the *Mathema-*
 ' *tician*, quickly welcomed the *Orator*, — of
 ' little or no Learning indeed at the Beginning,
 ' though agreeable by a *native Fluency*; but in
 ' Process of Time *they* likewise became learned:
 ' for *Galba*, *Africanus*, and *Lelius*, are handed
 ' down to us as Men of Learning; and *Cato*,
 ' who preceded them, was a Person of great
 ' Study and Knowledge. After these came *Le-*
 ' *pidus*, *Carbo*, and the *Gracchi*; — and then a
 ' Succession of so many great and learned Men
 ' (*Crassus*, *Antony*, *Philip*, *Curio*, *Hortensius*, &c.)
 ' that we yield little or nothing to the *Grecians*.
 ' *Philosophy*, I must acknowledge, has been
 ' neglected till now'.

I should be unwilling to sift this Comparison
 too narrowly; or canvass the Colors by whose

Glare the great Orator has brought the best and bravest indeed, but surely the most *uninventive* of all Nations, to figure with the Inventors of the finer Arts, and the Authors of the chief Sciences that yet exercise the Genius of Men. I will not therefore ask what *Art* it was that ever the *Romans* invented — nor *why* Poets appeared so early and originally in *Greece*, and only late and lame Copies of them in *Rome*, — nor *why* *Phidias* or *Apelles* were almost adored in *Athens*, while *Fabius*² and *Pacuvius* were contemned by their Co-temporaries? Waving these Questions, (to which every one acquainted with the History of the two Nations, will form his own Answer), I would observe, that an Attempt to put the *Romans* upon a Level with the *Grecians* in Point of *Learning* and *Science*, is rather more preposterous, than comparing the *Greeks* to *them*, in Point of *civil* or *military* Glory. For *Agésilas* approaches nearer to *Pompey*, and *Dion* to *Brutus* (though, God knows, both widely distant) than the *Roman* Imitators do to their Masters in all Sorts of Literature.

Let us therefore return to the *true Tract* of *Roman* Improvement pointed out by *Horace*, and imagine what Effect the Example of the eminent Men above mentioned, as Patrons of Learning, must have upon the public Taste,

² *Sordido studio deditum ingenium*, says the mean Flatterer *Valerius Maximus*.

when joined to the Charms of a lately opened Theatre ? Its Progress was so quick , that in the Compass of half a Century from their first rude Essays , the Comedies acted upon their Stage were translated from the most perfect *Grecian* Models , *Menander* and *Apollodorus*. From that Period , *Rome* was no more an *illiterate* Town. Their Language , the *Latin* , though a very corrupt Dialect of the *Greek* , yet retained so much of the original *Cast* of the Mother-tongue , as made them learn it with Facility , and readily adopt these *Greek* Terms which the Poverty ³ of their native Speech could not supply.

It was then there arose a Race of Poets , generally of the dramatic Sort : for says the knowing *Servius Sulpitius* ⁴ ,

*The second War with Carthage marks the Time ,
When the celestial Muse first wing'd her Way
To humanize the rugged savage Breast
Of martial Romans —*

³ *Patrii Sermonis Egestas.*

Lucret.

Quanta verborum nobis (Romanis) paupertas , imo egestas sit , nunquam magis quam hodierno die intellexi — nullo modo id latinè exprimere possum — damnabis angustias Romanas , si scieris unam syllabam esse , quam mutare non possum.

[TO ON]

Seneca , Ep. 58.

⁴ *Punico bello secundo , Musa pennato gradu
Intulit sese bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.*

Then *Cecilius*, *Terentius*, *Plautus*, and *Dossennus* were writing Comedies; while *Nevius*, *Accius*, and *Pacuvius* — were Tragic Authors,— the former borrowed from *Menander*, *Diphilus*, *Apollodorus*, *Posidius*, and *Alexis*, the latter from *Thespis*, *Eschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*.— When I say borrowed, I use the Word in its strict Sense: for the *Roman* Plays were for the most Part loose, bold Translations of the *Grecian*; which sounded well enough by themselves, but could not bear the Trial of being compared with their Originals.⁵ Perhaps from this general Rule we may except the smooth and delicate *Terence*, whom I take to have been the best Translator, after *Virgil*, that ever copied an elegant Pattern; and yet a great Judge, and Master of both Languages, calls him but *half a Menander*; and allowing him supreme Purity of Style, Sweetness of Dialogue, and Pleasantry of Humor, complains of his Want of Spirit and Fire⁶.

With the Works of these ingenious Men were the *Romans* entertained and instructed, when a

⁵ See a Comparison of a Play of *Cecilius* inscribed *Plotius*, with the Original of *Menander* in *A. Gellius*, Book II. § 23.

Afranius, *Togatarum* Scriptor, in eâ *Togatâ* quæ *Comitalia* inscribitur, non invereconde respondens arguentibus, quod plura sumpisset a *Menandro*, Fateor, inquit, sumpsi, non ab illo solummodo, sed ut quisque habuit quod conveniret mihi.⁷ Macrob. Saturn. VI. § 1.

⁶ *Jul. Caesar* apud *Sueton.* in *Terentii* vita.

Writer of a new Species started up, to correct their Taste, and refine their Morals. This was the lively *Lucilius* the Satirist, who entertained his Readers at the Expense not only of all his Predecessors in Poetry⁷, but of his Contemporaries who had any Thing remarkably absurd in their Manners. It was he that gave a Turn to the general Taste, who introduced a new Kind of Wit, and set the Pattern which the most elegant Writer of the Age began now to copy. This makes it necessary that we should be acquainted with the Character of the Man, and the Nature of his Compositions.

Caius Lucilius was of a very noble Family, and though a younger Brother, inherited a fair Fortune. His Niece, *Lucilia*, married to *Pompeius Strabo*, became the Mother of *Pompey the Great*⁸. He had himself the martial Education of the old Romans, having served from his Youth in the Cavalry under the younger *Scipio*⁹ to whose Esteem and Friendship he was not so much recommended by his noble Birth, as by his Genius

⁷ *Neque magno intervallo postea Q. Ennius, & juxta Cæcilius, & Terentius, ac subinde Pacuvius, & Pacuvio jam sene, Accius; clariorque tunc in poematis eorum obtrestandis Lucilius fuit.* A. Gell. Lib. XVII. § 22.

⁸ *Fuit hic Cn. Pompeius, genitus matre Lucilia, stirpis Senatorie.* Vell. Paterc.

Infra Lucili Censum. Horat.

⁹ *Celebre & Lucilii nomen fuit, qui sub P. Africano, Numantino bello eques militaverat.* Idem.

and admirable Humor. In Effect *Lucilius* was an *Original* ; a Writer of such Strength and Rectitude of Mind, — of such Keeness of Temper and flowing Wit, as fitted him to strike out a *new Road* never trode by Poet before¹. He was happy in falling into those *Times* when this *Genius* was peculiarly *cherished* by the boundless Liberty of the *Roman State*, which never ran higher either in Speech or Action. The *Grecian Literature* too had been lately received to give him *Range* — lame Copies had been made of their *Standard - Authors*, — *Luxury*, after the Ruin of *Carthage* and Plunder of *Corinth*, was beginning to creep in, and afford him ample Materials of Censure ; while his Knowledge of the World, and living in high Familiarity with the *first* and *best* Men in *Rome*, kept his Pen steady, and his Judgment sound. He attacked Vice wherever he found it : no outward Show or Substitution, and much less could Eminence of Birth or Station secure the *base Priest*, the *immoral Peer*, or purse - proud *Plebeian* from appearing in their proper Colors.

It is allowed that *Ennius*, *Pacuvius*, *Accius*, and other Poets had composed *dramatic Pieces* before, under the Name of *Saturæ*, or *Miscellanies* ; but they were Jumbles of Prose and Verse, being for the most Part, ‘ *Dialogues*

¹ — cum est *Lucilius* ausus

Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem.

Horat. Serm. II. Sat. 1.

' in *Doggrel*, fitted to the rude Mirth formerly described, that gave Rise to the Roman Drama. Lucilius improved upon this Model; — he banished the Prose, polished the Verse; introduced himself, his Friends, his Foes, as *Speakers*, and applied the whole to the Reformation of Manners². This he chiefly did by painting the best Characters, a *Cato*, a *Scipio*, a *Lælius*, as Patterns of Virtue, and by lashing *Rutilius Lupus*, *Mutius Scævola*, *Cæcilius Metellus*, *Publius Gallonius* (the Sturgeon-Eater) for their notorious Vices, — their Irreligion, Fraud, and Sensuality. Nor among these did he spare *himself*, but frankly confessed his Foibles, and painted his own Life and Adventures with the same impartial Pen.

It would be superfluous after this to say, that he was the Terror of *Fops* of every Species: but such was the *Dignity* with which his Virtue and superior Understanding invested him, that in a free State, where the *popular Party* was daily

² Hæc quæ *Satyra* dicitur ejusmodi fuit, ut in eâ, quamvis duro & veluti agresti modo, de vitiis civium, tamen sine ullo proprii nominis titulo carmen esset. Quod primo Lucilius novo conscripsit modo, *Poesin* inde faceret, id est, unius carminis plures libros

Æl. Donat. de Tragœd. & Comœd.

³ Quî magis hoc *Lucilio* licuerit assumere libertas quam nobis? cum etiam si odio par fuerit in eos quos læsit, tamen certe non magis dignos habuerit, in quos tantâ libertate verborum incurreret.

C. Trebon. Ep. ad Cicer.

gaining Ground , *he dared to be the Champion of Truth* , and in his Writings not only arraigned *the Body of the People* as degenerate , but attacked them *Tribe by Tribe* , for becoming dissolute , false , venal , and fawning *. It was by this Integrity that he indeed *merited* a Character , which has been *affected* by some modern Poets , of being ,

To Virtue only , and its Friends , a Friend †.

Let us hear how *feelingly* he talks upon the exalted Subject.

*Methinks I hear you ask me , what is Virtue ?
Virtue's the Standard , and the gen'ral Test
Which tries and scans the real Worth of Things.
To ev'ry Object it assigns its due ;
Teaches what's noble , useful , honest , streight —
Our real Goods and Ills. --- on t'other Side
It marks what's base , and brings sure Loss of
Fame.*

*Virtue alone sets Bounds to our Pursuits :
It weighs th' intrinsic Worth and Use of Wealth , —
Fixes the Measure of accumulating ;
Points out the Ends of Power ; shows the
false Glare
Of Honors , dazzling to a vulgar Eye.*

* *Primores populi arripuit , Populumque tributim.*

Horac.

† *Scilicet uni æquus virtuti , atque ejus amicis.*

*The virtuous Man, an open Foe to Fraud
Declares against the greatest tow'ring Villain ---
Befriends unask'd the Good, the Wise, the
Worthy:*

*Them he admires, assists, and cherishes;
In every Struggle stands their firmest Friend.
In short, true Virtue deems our Country's Cause
The first best Object of our Care; and next
Our Parent's Int'rest --- and our own the last.*

This then is the noble Light in which the Roman Satirist appeared; the same, that in a higher Sphere brightened the Character of the Censorial Cato. Both declared War against bad Men of whatever Rank or Quality. Cato by Impeachments of powerful Criminals inexorably pursued, — whether fraudulent Treasurers, rapacious Governors, or corrupt Judges, was the Guardian of the Public Good: Lucilius, by giving no Quarter to Vice, to Fraud, or to any Thing immoral, was the great Check on their private Manners. The Confidence of both was founded on no thin Pretensions, or starched Hypocrisy; but on conscious Worth, Innocence of Life, and Integrity of Heart⁷. How else could they possibly have bore up against the Torrent of

⁶ Apud Lactant. de C. D.

⁷ Quid refert dictis ignoscat Mutius, --- an non? ---
Sic vetus ille Cato dignum quemcunque laceffim
Appellare; quòd ipse sibi non conscius esset.

Priscian. Lib. X.

Envy which this Conduct brought pouring down upon them? *Cato* was paid home in his own Way, having been no less than *fifty* Times accused before different Tribunals; though as often honorably acquitted. Had he heard the Maxim, that has passed into a Proverb among his dissolute Countrymen, *Vivete e lasciate vivere*, *Live and Let Live*, he would have cried out, that it was a *flagitious Stipulation for mutual Indulgence in Villany*: for he continued to bring overgrown Transgressors to Justice, and impeached *Servilius Galba* when full ninety Years of Age. Nor did *Lucilius* quite escape: for though he lashed *Lupus*, *Metellus*, and other notorious Rogues, with Impunity*, yet having criticized all the preceding Poets, and ventured to censure the Players, one of the latter resolved to take his Revenge on the Stage, and, in a ridiculous Character he was playing, publicly named *Lucilius* the Satirist. The Poet was piqued, and prosecuted the Actor for Defamation. The Affair made a Noise, and the Cause was carried on with much Warmth on both Sides, before *C. Cælius* the Lord high Chancellor; who, after a full hearing, acquitted the Player, and dismissed the Parties without Costs of Suit.

The Loss of *Lucilius*' Works is extremely to be regreted, as it has for ever deprived us of the

* Num — læso doluere *Metello*

Famosisque *Lupo* cooperto versibus — ?

Horat.

* *Cicero* (vel Auctor) *Rhetor ad Herenn. Lib. II.*

most complete Draught of the ancient Roman Manners, and at the same Time, of the Model of those inimitable Pieces written by the Minister's new Favorite, *Horatius Flaccus*, under the Title of *Sermones* or *Conversations*. *Plautus* and *Terence* translate *Grecian Plays*, or plainly copy *Grecian Characters*. But *Lucilius* drew from the Life, and painted genuine Roman Originals; and with such just and masterly Strokes, that both his Contemporaries and many of the succeeding Generations thought him the Prince of all Poets that ever had writ¹. Such a Prejudice in Favor of an Author who hits our Humor by giving us back our own Ideas, is not uncommon. I have met with some ingenious Frenchmen, so charmed with *La Fontaine's* Sallies, that they preferred him to the Writers of their own and of every other Nation. *Lucilius* had great Vivacity, infinite Humor, Language at Command, and great Acquaintance with the *Grecian Masters*: but his Fort lay in a superior Knowledge of Life and Manners. In these he shone — these he described,

¹ *Satyra* quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus est *Lucilius*; qui quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non modo ejusdem operis auctoribus, sed omnibus Poëtis, præferre non dubitent. Ego quantum ab illis, tantum ab *Horatio* dissentio, qui *Lucilium* fluere lutulentum, & esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat; nam & eruditio in eo mira, & libertas, atque inde acerbitas, & abundè salis.

Quintil. Lib. X. § 1.

were they high or low , vicious or virtuous , in their proper style — in the Style employed by the Persons who practised them. *Virtue* appeared with her native Dignity in his Draught , and showed his great Friends , *Lælius* and *Scipio* , in the most amiable Point of Light². At the same Time , it is scarce possible to draw any Thing stronger than the Sketches of his vicious Characters: his Rogue , his Glutton, his Courtezan , his *Procureuse* , appear rather gross , even in those scattered Fragments of his Works that have been preserved by Quotations , and which the sagacious *Janus Douſa* has happily enough patched together³. But this high Spirit and these glowing Pictures were not set off with great *Delicacy* , or a very smooth Style : it was more correct and polished than his Predecessors ; but these inferior Ornaments were incompatible with the *Characters* he drew , and the Language

² *Quin ubi se a vulgo & scena in secreta remorant
Virtus Scipiadae, & mitis sapientia Læli,
Nugari cum illo, & discincti ludere (a), donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti. —*

Horat.

³ Under the title of *Centuriones Luciniani*, published with the Fragments of *Lucilius*, by *Francis Douſa*, his Son, Anno MDIIC.

(a) The Servants happening to enter the Dining - Room after the Table was covered , but before Dinner was quite ready , found *C. Lælius* (the second Man then in the Empire) running from Couch to Couch , and *Lucilius* pursuing with his Napkin twisted in his Hand , to buffet him for some Trick he had put upon the Poet.

of his Times *. The Want of them was overpaid by the Learning of a Gentleman, much Pleasantry, and, above all, by a deep Dash of the old Roman Humor, which he possessed in so eminent a Degree, that Pliny says it began with Lucilius in writing †, and Cicero affirms it almost expired with him ‡. It must needs do so, as the perfect Liberty of Speech and Sentiment, which produced and fed it, must have been first quashed by the Change of Manners § that quickly ensued, and afterwards totally buried under the Ruins of the Commonwealth. After all ¶, the chief Charm in Lucilius' Writings, to the Bulk of Readers, was the genuine Picture he drew of himself, the frank Confession of his Inclinations, the Acknowledgment of his Faults, the Accounts of his Adventures good or bad, and in short, a true and spirited Representation of his whole Life: fresh from Business he ran to his Pen, while his

* Cum flueret *lutulentus*, erat quod tollere velles.

Horat.

† *Lucilius* — qui primus condidit *stili* Nasum.

Præf. Hist. Nat.

‡ *Moriar, si præter te (Papirium Pætum) quenquam reliquum habeo in quo possum imaginem antiquæ & vernaculæ festivitatis agnoscere.*

Cicer. Ep. Fam.

§ See Vol. III.

¶ *Sunt Lucili scripta leviora, ut urbanitas summa appareat, doctrina mediocris.*

Cicer. de Fin. Lib. I.

Fancy

Fancy was yet warm , his Passions still awake , as elated with Success or depressed by Miscarriage. These he faithfully related , and made his Remarks on them with the same Freedom as if he had not been the Actor , or had the least Interest in the Matter ; and by the Delight he gave the Public , made it appear that there is nothing so pleasing to the human Mind , as Nature and Truth. Why do we read the ingenious *Montaigne* with such high Relish , and eagerly follow him through the Mazes in which his Fancy roves ? because *he paints himself*, and gives us back our own Feelings more happily expressed , than we ever saw them elsewhere. *Je dois mon Pourtrait au Publique* , I have promised my *Picture* to the Public ,' says that amiable Writer , and faithfully has he kept his Word. This indeed was the chief Merit of the first *Memoir-Writers* , who related their own Adventures , and by painting Passions and Persons , *interested* the Reader in their Fate and Fortunes. The Applause with which their Works had been received , produced a Swarm of loose Novels , Lives , &c. that have been justly rejected as spurious Productions : but let any Man of Genius , treading in *Montaigne's* or *Lucilius's* Steps , *paint himself truly* , and I will engage he shall meet with a favorable Reception. Some beautiful Touches of this Sort appear through Sir *William Temple* , and Sir *Thomas Brown's* Works , and make the chief Beauties in the little elegant Essays published under the Title of the *Spectator*.

If they are not read with the same Relish, nor raise the same Admiration as the former, it is that they are *timorously* drawn, and faintly colored under the Influence of *modern Politeness* — a Cause agreeable enough in common Life, but *enervating* in characteristic Composures.

The high Reputation acquired by *Lucilius* procured him many Imitators, among whom *Albutius*, a Man of prime Learning, held the first Rank⁹. It is true the *Marian* Calamities, the *Italic* and *Servile* Wars, left no Leisure in the Age which immediately succeeded, to court the Muses, or listen to their Song: but in the Interval between these and the *Cæsarean* Rebellion, the *Atacian* *Varro*, *Ampius* *Balbus*, and latterly the brave *Trebonius*, had all tried their Talents in Satire, and left Pictures of Men and Manners that would have thrown great Light on the History of that distinguished Period, had they escaped the Stroke of *Time*. For they were Men of Genius, and Spirit, who wrote with the manly Freedom becoming the Cause of *Liberty* in which they were embarked. It was now taken up by the acute *Horace*, a nice Judge of Characters, who exercised it under the Protection of a powerful Minister.

Lucilius his Pattern, among other Incidents of his Life, had described a Journey he made from

⁹ *L. Albutius*, homo apprime doctus, cujus *Luciliano* caractere sunt Libelli.

Rome along the rich Coast of *Campania*, by *Capua* and *Naples* all the Way to *Reggio* on the *Sicilian - Streight*. *Horace* was soon found out to be the worthy Man and agreeable Companion his Friends *Virgil* and *Varius* had described him, and was now honored with *Mecenas*' Commands to attend him in a Progress quite across *Italy* to *Brindisi*, and to meet him upon the Road at *Terracina*. He and *Cocceius* were going Plenipotentiaries on the momentous Affair of adjusting Differences, and healing the Suspicions arisen between *M. Antony* and the young *Cæsar*, which they happily terminated by the Peace of *Brindisi* above related. Nothing can be neater than *Horace*'s Account of this long Journey. It is told in very familiar, and yet elegant Terms; and being among the *first* Pieces of this Kind which he published, when he was scarce six - and - twenty, it both shows upon what Foot he lived with the Minister, and what Kind of Men made up this select Retinue.

Horace set out from *Rome* attended by *Heliodore*, a Professor of Eloquence, whom he calls by far the learnedest of all the *Grecians*. I suppose he has held the same Rank in the Minister's Family, as *Apollodore* the *Pergamenian* did in the Prince's¹; it being scarce probable that *Horace* could yet afford to keep in his House a learned *Grecian* for his Companion. They undertook this Journey before the Peace of *Brindisi* was concluded;

¹ *Homme de Lettres.*

that is, about two Years after *Philippi*, when the Tribune commanding under *Brutus* had been stript of his small paternal Estate, and for his Subsistence had been reduced to purchase an Under-clerkship in the Treasury: for so I understand *Suetonius*² in the Sketch he has given of the Poet's Life. This Gentleman, *Heliodorus*, is no where else mentioned, that I know of: perhaps he may have died young, before he produced any Work to preserve his Memory; since, but for this little Touch of *Horace's* Pen, his own Learning, however extensive, would not have saved him from Oblivion.

Mecenas and *Cocceius* were going, as I said, upon so weighty an Affair, that the Fortunes of their respective Masters, and the Fate of the Empire depended upon their Negociation: yet we find them in no Hurry — no posting to *Brindisi*; but their Progress liker a Jaunt of Pleasure than the Dispatch of Plenipotentiaries. They generally rode but one Stage a-day, took their own elegant *Villas* in their Way, where they entertained by Turns — or if the Master's Family happened not to be there at that Time, he only lodged the illustrious Company; but the nearest Housekeeper supplied the Kitchen. They refused no Amusement on the Road; we find *Mecenas* going to *Tennis* after a long Day's Journey (no Sign of a fatigued Traveller or a weak Constitution), in which neither of the Poets chose to bear a Part. *Horace's* Eyes were but tender, and

² *Veniâ impetratâ, Scriptum Quaestorium comparavit.*

Virgil's Digestion weak. The ridiculous Ensigns of Power, affected by the Recorder of a little Country-Town, and some *local Miracles*, afforded them new Mirth; while the Encounter of *Sarmentus*, a Buffoon in *Mecenas's* Train, with *Cicerrus*, another *Grotesque* belonging to *Cocceius*, furnished Laughter for a whole Evening. But the Circumstance in the whole Narration that chiefly struck me, is the *different Manner* in which the Poet relates his Meeting with the great Man, and with his fellow-Poets. A modern Bard, we may presume, who had been commanded to meet an Ambassador, and attend him as his Companion, would have principally dwelt upon the *auspicious Day*, — perhaps accumulated all the Honor and Happiness of the Tale on the *blessed Hour*, when his *Excellency* first joined them. It is here quite otherwise. ‘At *Terracina*, says *Horace*, while I was anointing my fore Eyes, *Mecenas* arrived, and along with him *Cocceius* and *Fonteius Capito*, a thorough-polite Man’, and in the highest Favor with *M. Antony*. From thence we proceeded to *Fundi*, and had soon the Pleasure to leave it, — sneering at the Trappings of their wrong-headed Recorder — in his purple-edged Gown, with a broad Galloon down his Breast, and a Pan of live Coals carried before him in Procession. That Evening, pretty weary, we reached *Formiæ* the Seat of the *Mamurran*

‘ Family ’, where *Murena* lodged the Company,
 ‘ and *Capito* furnished the Table. But the next
 ‘ Day dawned by far *the most agreeable*; for at
 ‘ *Sinuessæ* ’ we were joined by *Plotius Tucca*,
 ‘ *Lucius Varius*, and *Virgilius Maro* — than whom
 ‘ the Earth bears not better Men, nor to whom
 ‘ any Body has greater Obligations than myself.
 ‘ Lord! what embracing there was among us!
 ‘ what a Flow of Joy, and Effusion of Heart!
 ‘ never, while in my Senses, will I put any
 ‘ Thing in the Balance with a *delightful Friend*!
 There is both *Discretion* and *Dignity* in suppress-
 ing, or in touching gently upon Circumstances
 that might favour of Vanity; and the Exercise

‘ Hence the Epithet which *Catullus* usually bestows
 upon the prodigal *Mamurra*, *Julius Cæsar’s* Favourite,
Decoctor Formianus, the Bankrupt of *Formiæ*.

‘ *Sinuessæ* was another *Baiæ* — a Place of Gayety and
 Pleasure. It likewise allured People of delicate Constitu-
 tions *mollitie cæli & salubritate aquarum*, by the Mildness
 of the Air, and the celebrated hot Springs, which, long
 before *Martial’s* Days, were used for dissolute Purposes (a):
 for in this Place the Monster *Tigellinus* was wallowing in
 Debauchery, when *Otho* sent to take off his Head. Was
Virgil here using these Baths, to cherish a sickly Habit?
 — or had he rather come from *Naples* (his usual Retreat
 not far off) to meet his Patron at *Sinuessæ*, because, next
 Stage, the Road to *Brindisi* quits the Coast, and taking
 to the left through the Hills, leads by the Bridge on the
Volturno to *Beneventum*?

(a) *Lib. II. Epig.*

of these rare Qualities, in some Measure accounts for this uncommon Phenomenon, of a great Statesman travelling with *four such Literati* in his Train.

Among Persons of this Turn, equally acquainted with Business and Learning, *Men and Manners* must be frequently the Subjects of Conversation; and *Horace*, who was particularly quick both in his Passions and Perceptions, has accordingly presented his Patron with some curious Draughts of the various *Characters* and *Pursuits* which diversify human Life. It is remarkable, that the *first* of his Odes or Songs, the *first* of his *Satires*, and the *first* of his *Epistles*, are all of this Sort; and all the *three* addressed to *Mecenas*. The Poet therefore, in writing his *Discourses* or *Conversations*, was at once indulging his own *Genius*, and adapting his Productions to the *Taste* of his Patron. Knowledge of *Characters* is the prime Requisite both for judging of other Men's Conduct, and for regulating our own: whoever excels in it, is capable of the highest Employments, and qualified to deal with all Sorts of Persons: for *Characters*, springing from Inclination, and marked by a Pursuit, are the immediate Offspring, and therefore the sure *Test* of our Morals; so that the very learned and judicious Writer*, who has labored most successfully

* Mr. *William Duncan*, Professor of Philosophy in the University of *Aberdeen*, whose exact Translation of the *Satires* and *Epistles* of *Horace*, with learned Notes, was

to make these Compositions of *Horace* intelligible to our Countrymen, had good Reason to affirm, ' that his *Satires* and *Epistles* contain a perfect ' System of Prudence and Morality ; being the ' finest Collection of Precepts for the Conduct ' of Life, that all Antiquity can boast of.' This is a high Encomium — let us see whether it be well founded.

We are told by the great Master of Morals, ' that Men generally take to one of *three* Kinds ' of Life : — they either give themselves up to ' *Pleasure* ; follow *public Business* ; or spend their ' Time in *Study* and *Contemplation*. Under ' these , continues he , there is yet another ' Sort of a Life to be considered , that of a ' *Money-maker*, whose sole Aim is accumulating *Wealth*.' This Observation is taken from *Fact*, and a *wide View* of human Affairs : — of a Piece with it is the philosophic Arrangement of the *Good-Things* sought after , or the *Enjoyment* proposed from each Kind of Life ; which the same Moralist, or his accurate Interpreter , says must be likewise of three Sorts : ' For all our Acquisitions and ' Enjoyments either relate immediately to the

unfortunately printed as a *second Part* to the Odes , &c. translated and commented by a *very different* Hand.

⁷ Οἱ γὰρ καθολικοὶ βίαι μάλιστα τρεῖς εἰσὶν· ὁ τε καθ' ἡδονήν, καὶ ὁ πολιτικός, καὶ τρίτος ὁ θεωρητικός — ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βίος ἐν αὐτοῖς θεωρούμενος, ὁ τῷ χρηματιστικῷ.

Παραφρασ. Ἀριστοτελ. πρὸς Νικομαχ. Β.

⁸ Supposed to be *Andronicus* the *Rhodian*, published by *Dan. Heinsius*, with a Translation.

‘ *Body* , or to the *Mind* , or to *exterior* Circumstances , which the Philosophers called Things *without us.*’

In a Run of Pleasure , or a Hurry of Business , the Multiplicity of succeeding Objects that play before our fired Imagination , seems incapable of being reduced to Order , and ranged under a few simple Heads : but when that Heat is over , cool Reflection and a calm View of Life , let us see the Truth and Justness of the comprehensive Division. If *Horace* therefore , in his Draughts of Men and Manners , has amply and artfully treated of these *four* Kinds of Life , and searched into the three *Ends* or *Purposes* proposed in pursuing them — if he has inimitably shown the Use and Abuse of *Pleasure* , *Power* , *Knowledge* , and *Wealth* — may we not return the Compliment which he pays to *Homer*’ , and pronounce him a complete Moralist ?

But that every one may judge for himself , here are the Subjects of his *Conversations* , in one compendious View. They are divided into two Books , the first containing *ten* , and the second *eight* Satires.

BOOK FIRST.

- Sat. I. Of the Choice of Life — various Characters — Use and Abuse of MONEY.
 II. Of PLEASURE: Danger and Indecency of high Intrigue.

‘ *Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non, Plenius ac melius Chrysippo ac Crantore dicit.*

Epist. II. ad Lollium.

- III. OF FRIENDSHIP. Indulgence to Friends: *Life* (not Theory) the *Measure* of Things.
- IV. OF POETRY. Satire. LUCILIUS — HORACE himself.
- V. A JOURNEY to *Brindisi* — Accidents in common Life.
- VI. OF NOBILITY. Grandeur troublesome: Sweets of Independency.
- VII. A LAW-SUIT, or Scolding between a well-matched Plaintiff and Defendant: false Eloquence, ending in a Pun¹.
- VIII. OF SUPERSTITION. Spells. *Priapus* and the *Witch*.
- IX. The PRATER. Impertinence in Conversation (*le Facheux*).
- X. A DEFENCE of Sat. IV. Criticism. Characters and Excellencies of contemporary Poets.

BOOK SECOND.

- Sat. I. The same SUBJECT. Essay - writing. Character, of *Lucilius* — *Horace's* own.
- II. OF TEMPERANCE. Table - Luxury: honest *Ofellus*.
- III. OF STOICISM: Folly, a certain *Pitch* of Madness; — wonderfully exemplified. *Horace's* own Errors in Life.

¹ See Vol. III. page 66.

IV. Of EPICURISM. Receipts in *Cookery* philosophically delivered.

V. Of LEGACY - HUNTING. The Will-Catcher and his Wiles described.

VI. THE WISH — private LIFE — rural Retirement — City and Country Mouse.

VII. Of False GALLANTRY, and ill-founded PRIDE, opposed to real VIRTUE and Self-command.

VIII. A ridiculous FEAST. Abuse of Riches. Absurdity of high Entertaining.

Now if we review these Subjects with Attention, we will find, that they run either upon the Management of our *Pleasures*, which in the abstract Style you may call the good Things of the *Body*; or upon Conduct toward our *Superiors*, *Friends*, and *Dependants*, which may be considered as *exterior* Circumstances; or finally they relate to Learning and Knowledge, particularly to Poetry and characteristic Writing, that delineates our Passions and Principles; which therefore properly belongs to the *Understanding*. Take human Life, then, in what Light you please, and compare its Duties and Errors with these elegant Draughts of the *Roman* Poet, you will find them follow it in its principal and pleasantest Scenes.

SOUND SENSE is the grand Source of writing well,

says this candid Critic, and adds a memorable Proof of his Assertion; — ‘to be convinced that
 ‘ it is so, continues he, *Go, read the Works of*
 ‘ *the Socratic School*, that is, the Writings of
 ‘ *Xenophon and Plato*: — from *them* you must
 ‘ learn the Duties we owe to our Country, to
 ‘ our Parents, and to our Friends, to be quali-
 ‘ fied to *paint Characters* according to *Nature*.
 Would you therefore know the real Compass and
Extent of these *Characteristics*, take any approved
System of *Morals* in your Hand, but especially
 the *first* and *best* that I yet know to be published,
 which bears the Name of *Nicomachus* to whom
 it was addressed²; or if that divine Work be
 not within Reach, take *Cicero’s* Abstract of it
 and of *Panetius’* Treatise upon the same Subject³,
 — compare *their* Contents with the Subjects of
 the *Satires*, and (*one grand Point excepted*) you
 will equally find Directions for every Part of
 your Conduct. They are given in *various* Ways;
 by Precept, by Example, but principally in the
 most difficult — but most delightful of all the
 Methods of Instruction, that of *Painting* and
Ridicule — a Method that deeply attaches the
 Reader, and wins his Consent, by interesting
 his *own* Judgment, and appealing to his *own*
 Taste for the Truth of the Conclusions which it
 leaves him to draw, after having turned out to
 his View the right and wrong Sides of Life, and

² Αριστοτελ. Ηθικῶν πρὸς Νικομαχ.

³ De Officiis.

raised Approbation or Dislike by bare *Representation*.

In this delicate Art *Horace* excelled: his Pictures are all just, Coloring exquisite, and laid on in the happiest Language that ever flowed from a Poet's Pen: and as by this Means, among all the Roman Authors, his Writings are the Sources from which a Gentleman, living in Court or Country, pursuing Pleasure, immersed in Business, or addicted to Learning, may draw the greatest Instruction and Delight, I hope the following Observations, tending to illustrate their Excellency and spread their Influence, will not be unseasonable.

And first, his moral *Lectures* (if that be not too grave a Word) are rendered amiable by a very essential, though often neglected qualification, their *Good-Nature* and *Pleasantry*. They are frequently delivered in some ludicrous Character — a *Virtuoso run mad**, a *shrewd sententious Slave*†, or a *subtile Kitchen-Philosopher*‡; they are, besides, enlivened here and there with those Strokes of Humor, and little *Extravagancies* that are proper to prevent our flagging on pure preaching and dry *Morality*. It is surely no good Conduct in the Managers for Virtue, to give her such a stern merciless Aspect as to frighten the gay, the young, the good-natured, from daring to

* *Damasippus*.

† *Davus*.

‡ *Catius*.

approach her. *Persius*, *Juvenal*, and the greater Part of the modern Satirists, seldom afford us a Smile; or when they do, it comes with so much Disdain and Arrogance, that it has no Chance to please, nor consequently to correct us. It must be allowed, that the gross unnatural Vices which they attack, require a harsher Tone, because the case-hardened Offenders in *these*, having forgot to blush, are Proof against a Jest: and it being the Business of Satire first to *laugh* Vice out of Countenance, or if, through Impudence and Profligacy, that cannot be done, its next Work is to render it odious and frightful: But in chusing notorious *Rogues*, *Rakes*, *Thieves*, or Men of the most abandoned Characters, as Objects of their Satire, they have rather followed the Authors of the *old rude Comedy*, than the Pattern here set them by this refined Cenfor of Manners: and still, when they touch upon the *same* Subject with him, it is in a very *different* Way. Criminal Intrigue, and Table-Luxury, have been the standing Butts of Satire constantly lashed by almost every Writer of that Species; yet take the Pieces in which *Horace* exposes the Ridicule of these dangerous and delusive Follies, and compare them with the hideous Pictures drawn by *Persius* and his *Associate*, you will find they consider them in quite different Views, and scarcely imagine you are reading upon the same Subject. It is past Doubt, that every *Vice* is attended with so much *genuine*

Folly, that it needs only to be stript of its Tinsel, and shown *as it is*, to make it look silly, and us ashamed of it: but if besides its own Deformity, we dress it up like a *Saracen's Head*, and endeavour to *inhance* its native Uglinefs, it is odds but we take it for a *Mask indeed*, and believe its real Visage not so deformed as the officious Representation.

I said there was *one* grand Point, on which our Poet could not keep Pace with the Moralists: *Aristotle*, *Panetius*, and *Cicero*, had all the Happiness to live in *free States*, and the Roman had a chief Hand in *preserving* one so: of Course they employ a great Part of their Writings in explaining and enforcing *the Duties we owe to our Country*. But here our Poet is defective — not for Want of Capacity or Good-will, but through a fatal *Necessity* to abstain from the exalted Subject, — a *Necessity* imposed upon him by the *Times* and his own Condition. *Aristotle*, it is true, witnessed the Attempt made upon the Liberties of *Greece* by the artful *Philip*; as *Cicero* composed his admirable Work, addressed to his Son, during a *lucid Interval* that seemed to have surmounted the Usurpation. But the *Stagirite* had been conversant with better Models than his own Country produced, or his *Pupil's Government* could afford; else he could never have had those *distinct* and *beneficent Views* of *Society*, or felt that public Affection we call *Patriotism*, whose Beauty he has so exquisitely

described⁷: whereas the unfortunate *Horace*, though early embarked in the Cause of Liberty, soon saw the bright Morning overcast, and produce a dismal Tempest of Tyranny and lawless Rule, in which he was himself a deep Sufferer. No wonder then, if we find, in his *first Productions*, no Encomiums of a Passion, which though the most glorious and elevating that warms the human Breast, ran directly counter to the Spirit and Tenor of the newly-usurped Government.

Let us bear with this Piece of *Discretion* in the lately-pardoned Poet; and remember that by seconding the salutary Views of the humane *Mecenas*, and the generous *Agrippa*, he was even now approving himself a *worthy*, as well as a *wise* Man: for afterwards, when Things were better settled, and a milder Spirit prevailed in Public, we shall find him endeavouring as a professed Patriot, to make ample Amends.

After two or three looser *Essays*, he carried *Satire* to its Perfection; and in so far as it regards the Conduct of *private* Life, remains, *unrivalled* by any ancient or modern Writer. I have already pointed out the Advantages which in Part *account* for this Superiority, — the noble *Pattern* he imitated, the high *Company* he kept,

⁷ In all Antiquity, I know nothing that in sublime Sentiment, nervous Expression, and Strength of Coloring, surpasses an *Ode on Virtue*, ascribed to *Aristotle*. Ἀρετῶν Πολυμοχθε — Γενεῖ Βροταίωι, &c.

his

his quick Perception of *Characters*, and equal Acquaintance with *Books* and *Men*. But he stands in nothing so much alone, as in *Good-nature*, and that *smiling Ease* with which he administers Medicine to a sickly Mind. — Not only the two noted Ancients already named, but all the Moderns who have attempted Satire, are *sadly serious*: the bitter and bigotted *Salvator Rosa* never unbends his angry Brow: *Boileau's* natural Temper was sharp, nor was Mr. *Pope* averse to *Severity*. It is true they have both taken up the *other* Manner with great Success — but it is either when they have *Horace* in View, or are copying *Tassoni*, *Cervantes*, or some other of the *burlesque* Writers.

Two peculiarities more distinguish *Horace's* Composures: first, they are genuine *dramatic* Representations, like so many *Scenes of a Comedy*: the greater Number are *strictly* so, and the two or three that appear *narrative* and *declamatory*, yet *introduce* Persons and Characters in the Narration. They are of the same Kind, both as to Matter and Form, with those *Socratic Pieces* which he recommends as the Fountains of Sense and fine Writing. An author more ennobled by his Learning and Virtue than by his high Birth, has ingeniously remarked, that every one of *Plato's* Dialogues is a Sort of *moral Mirror*, into which no Man can look steadfastly without seeing his own real Face, and if frequently consulted, will likewise show him the Visage wore by every one of his Acquaintance. *Horace's Discourses* are vastly

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elaborate in this Respect, and wrought up to a strict *Consistency* of Character and Sentiment.

A noble *Venetian*, who by staying long in *Britain* had acquired an Esteem for the fair Sex not very common in his own Country, started an *Objection* on this Subject which will set it in the clearest Light. 'I cannot conceive, said he, how
' so delicate a Writer as *Horace*, should in his
' fifth Satire ' have ventured to abuse the most
' shining female Character in all Antiquity, and
' represent the virtuous *Penelope* as capable of the
' lowest Prostitution. The very Language he
' uses on this Occasion, is *foul*, and the Image
' to which he compares the Heroine is grossly
' shocking'. Is not this trespassing against the
' Truth of Character, and irreconcilable to his
' own Precepts?'

A Gentleman in the Company observed, that *Horace*, though supremely well bred, and strictly adapting his style to the Speaker, has yet many *strong*, perhaps we would say *coarse* Expressions, hatched, to be sure, under the high Liberty of the *Roman* State, and which had probably crept into his Compositions from the Fountains whence he drew, *Lucilius'* Writings, or

' Book II.

' *Ut Canis a corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto.*

Ulysses is introduced consulting *Tiresias* by what Ways and Means he may repair his broken Fortunes, and grow quickly rich? The old Bard bids him hunt for Legacies; and among other Arts, *prostitute his Wife*.

more licentious Authors of the *old Comedy* — that what is called *Politeness* has no fixed Standard, but varies so much in different Ages and Countries, that some Moderns have stript the rude Ancients of all Pretensions to Gallantry. You know, *St. Evremont* finds it only in *Petronius*, and in *two or three* of the Odes of *Horace*¹; while other *Frenchmen* censure even your *Tasso* and *Guarini*, and pretend to give Proofs of their being gross Writers on the subject of Love².

Signior G — ni allowed that *Politeness* had no Standard but Good-nature; and that the fantastic *French Writers* of the last Age wanted to make their own national Foppery the general Model of Manners — but still he insisted that here was a palpable Inconsistency with the established Character of *Penelope*, exaggerated in very indecent Terms; and looking to a known Admirer of the *Poet* and no Enemy to the *Fair*, asked him, *How he could almost idolize an Author who had so insulted the most accomplished of Woman-kind?*

When you take that Piece of my Favorite again in your Hand, said the Person to whom he put the Question, do him the Justice to consider it as a *Continuation* of the XI. Book of

¹ A la reserve d'*Horace* en quelques odes, *Petrone* est peut-être le seul de l'Antiquité, qui ait sçu parler de Galanterie.

² *Pria — ch'io le mie arme, nel suo sangue non tinga.*

Aminta di Tasso.

Homer's Odyssey inscribed ΝΕΚΥΙΑ, or the *State of the Dead*; just as the admired *Fenelon* has grafted his *Adventures of Telemachus* upon an Episode of the same Poet: consider too the Purpose of it — to expose a Piece of mean Corruption which was beginning to prevail, and which soon after came to a shameful Height, that of courting the *childless Rich* by the lowest and worst of Arts³: for the Regard formerly paid to *Virtue* being now, after the Loss of Liberty, transferred to *Pomp* and *Wealth*, *Money* was become the grand Pursuit at *Rome* — every Body hastened to be rich — no Matter *how*, so you were but rich; and the most expeditious and secure Method of Acquisition, (after a Stop was put to plundering) being by bequeathed Estates, *Will-catching* became a Profession, and (like *Fortune-hunting* lately in *Britain*) a public Nuisance and Scandal⁴. To expose the base Artifices they

³ Vir bonus & pauper, linguaque & pectore purus,
 Quid tibi vis urbem qui Fabiane petis?
 Qui nec leno potes, nec commissator habere,
 Nec pavidos tristi voce citare reos:
 Nec potes uxorem cari corrumpere amici,
 Nec potes argentes arrigere ad vetulas;
 Vendere nec vacuos circum palatia fumos,
 Plaudere nec Cano, plaudere nec Glaphyro:
 Unde miser vives? — Martial. Lib. IV. Ep. 5.

⁴ An tu *Arruntium* & *Aterium* & cæteros, qui captandorum testamentorum artem professi sunt, non putas eadem habere quæ designatores & libitinarios vota?

Senec. de Ben. VI.

employed, and make the Trade at once odious and ridiculous, the *Foil* of the most shining Characters was necessary; as *their* Contrast set the Deformity of it in the most striking Light: — and what more shining Characters than those of *Penelope* and *Ulysses*?

Ay — but he should have *kept* to these Characters — observed the proper Measures of Probability — and not represented the heroic *Ulysses* as capable of acting the Scoundrel, or the virtuous *Penelope* of playing the —! The raised Tone of Voice, and Vivacity of the *Venetian's* Looks, made this Sentence be received with a loud Laugh — after which the Poet's Advocate modestly begged Leave to tell him. ' *That Ulysses*
' *was represented, even by Homer himself, as not*
' *at all averse to receiving Gifts, and extremely in-*
' *tent upon accumulating Wealth*': nay, that there
' *were not wanting Writers who had formally at-*
' *tacked Penelope's Character, and endeavoured at*
' *least to leave it dubious, whether the Princess of*
' *Ithaca, like our great Queen Elizabeth, were*
' *really such a Pattern of Virtue as Homer paints*

' When set on Shore by the Pheacians in *Ithaca*, and (as he thought) in Hazard of his Life, his first Care was to *number* the Presents he had received, lest the Seamen should have pilfered any Thing while he was asleep; and afterwards, when *Penelope* was making Trial of her Sui-
tor's Generosity,

— γήθησεν δὲ πολὺ γλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς
Οὐνεκὰ τῶν μὲν δῶρα παρέλκετο — Ραψ. Σ.

‘ her , or whether she had imposed upon the World ,
 ‘ and made it believe her a Saint while she indulged
 ‘ in secret , and was indeed a Sinner ’ : whereas
 ‘ Horace introduces Ulysses himself (who should
 ‘ know best) doing full Justice to his excellent Con-
 ‘ sort , and strongly asserting her superior Prudence
 ‘ and unblemished Chastity ’. Wit, he said, requir-
 ‘ ed some Grains of Allowance, and is never ob-
 ‘ served to shine brighter , than when it makes free
 ‘ with exalted Characters — besides , Sir , remember
 ‘ that the Insinuations in Prejudice of this admired
 ‘ Lady are put into the Mouth not only of an old
 ‘ Soothsayer , but of a blind one , and who lost his
 ‘ Sight for a harsh Judgment passed in a ticklish
 ‘ Point upon the Sex in general. — — An old
 ‘ Man, said the Italian (pausing — and weighing
 the Words), — an old Man --- and a blind one
 too ! Why, that may possibly acquit the Poet *.

It is the chief Boast of the Muses , to make the
 Lies they tell resemble Truth. Consistency of Cha-
 racter is accordingly the Master-piece of Poetry ,

* Quid inquiris , — an *Penelopa* impudica fuerit, ac verba
 suo sæculo dederit ? an *Ulixem illum* esse quem videbat
 antequam sciret suspicata sit.

Senec. Epist. 88.

— Putas ne

Perduci poterit tam frugi , tamque pudica ;
 Quam nequière proci recto depellere cursu ?

* In bocca di Vecchio , dice V S — ed anche di cieco —
 cieco — e vecchio ! — abi questo sì , basta per iscusar il
 Poeta.

which is seldom reached if the *Foundation* at least of the Fiction be not laid in Facts, or if the Poet have not *real Persons* in his Eye while he is drawing Characters. Without this, the warmest Fancy and widest Genius cannot guard him against Slips in Composition, — nor secure him against some wry Feature or unhappy Touch, betraying the Deceit, and bespeaking human Infirmary. The second *Peculiarity* of *Horace's* Pieces is therefore easily perceived, as being closely connected with the first. The *Rise* of his Satires was *real*; and the Persons to whom both they and his Epistles are addressed were not fictitious. They are founded upon some Incident that actually happened, or upon some Relation in Life that really existed, and are accordingly framed and *adjusted* to their Situation at that Time. It was this that enabled him to *paint so true*, to make his introduced Persons speak with such *consistent* Propriety, and to observe himself the proper *Measures* of Familiarity or Deference. I should write a Commentary on his Works, were I to point out the Proofs that every where occur of the Truth of these Observations: but I cannot avoid taking Notice of one *happy Effect* of this Way of Writing, which we may call a *moral Drama*. By introducing various Characters, and making them talk each in their own Style, you put a *Person between* you and the *Public*, and out of *his* Mouth can say many Things which you could not have said so well, or possibly not said at all from your own. With

what Grace could *Horace*, for Instance, have recounted his own Foibles and Follies, in Comparison of the Virtuoso newly converted to Stoicism? Or how could he have removed the false Glare of Wealth, and so decently displayed the Enormities of the *Great*, as in the Person of a *sagacious Valet* perfectly acquainted with his Master's private Life? It is needless to add, that to draw such a Character *justly*, the Poet must have *been so too*. He now lived much at Court; from which however he made frequent and long Elopements to his rural Retirement, to enjoy plain Nature, saunter in the Woods, or contemplate among the Ruins of a Temple gone to Decay. He had his Friends and his Enemies, both as a Courtier and an Author --- had a new Dependence upon a Minister — a small Fortune to manage, and a greater to make; — besides an irascible Temper, and a large Share of more lasting Passions. These give great *Openings* into Life, and when joined with the *Masters* he consulted*, and the *Models* he followed, produced those wondrous Draughts of Men and Manners that have stood the Test of Ages, and still command Admiration and Love.

* When he went into the Country, the Authors he carried with him were *Plato* and *Menander* --- *Eupolis* and *Archilochus*: the two former as Sources of Wisdom and Models of Dialogue; the latter for the Strength of their Style and Sentiment, — keen Strokes of Wit and Ridicule, without much Morality.

An ingenious *Frenchman* lately named,¹ says the reading *Seneca's* *Morals* rather *indisposed* than excited him to *Virtue*, — ‘that he felt an Aversion to what that Writer recommends, and a Liking to what he dissuades; that the gloomy Pains he takes to prepare us for Death made him passionately fond of Life, while his haranguing in Praise of Poverty made him sigh for the vast Wealth amassed by the Moralist.’ So preposterous an Effect affords no Prejudice in Favor of the Writer’s *Sincerity*; it seems to speak his *Virtue* rather *acquired* than natural, — rather assumed to *serve a Purpose*², than really dictated by his Heart: whereas *Horace's* softened Reproofs and artful Methods of conveying Advice, produce a very different Disposition. — You begin to read with Pleasure — you smile — turn all Attention, — find out yourself — bite your Lip, throw down the Book, — take it eagerly up, read a new — and blushing resolve to become a better Man.

Homer, says the Father of Criticism, through all his Works speaks but very little in his own Person — just enough to invoke his Muse, and introduce his Actors, whom he paints more exquisitely by the Speeches put in their Mouths, than by direct Description. The same Thing

¹ *Seneca* — instituta prioris potentiae commutat: prohibet cœtus salutantium, vitat comitantes; rarus per urbem, quasi valetudine infensa, aut sapientiae studiis dominaretur.

Tacit. Ann. XIV.

holds strictly true of *Horace* in these *mimic* Conversations, who though occupying the least *poetical* Quarter of *Parnassus*, I mean *Satire*, and sily declining the Name, is yet, in the strict Sense of the Word, a *Poet*. His Friend *Fuscus Aristius* serves him to set forth *Crispinus* the everlasting *Prater*. *Fundanius*, the comic Author, describes the extravagant Dinner given by *Nasidienus Rufus* (a Rich Fool, ambitious to be thought a Man of Taste) to *Mecenas*, and his motley Train. *Trebatius*, the celebrated Lawyer, whom Mr. *Pope* transforms into Dr. *Arbuthnot*, gives him Handles, by his prudent Advice, to justify his Conduct as a Satirist. Fabulous Persons, like *Tiresias* and *Priapus*, turn Preachers of Morality; and even his own Father bears a Part in the satirical Drama. They are each amiable in their *Way*; but none of them come up to *Davus*, the sententious Valet; and much less to *Damasippus* the pragmatical Stoic, whose Character far surpasses that of *Cervantes'* witty and learned Madman, the Licentiate *Vidriera*².

When he first began to write, *Lucilius* was in Possession of the highest Reputation as a Poet. *Horace* openly attacked him, and raised the Indignation of his Admirers. — He allowed him great Worth, Wit and Learning, but censured him a little sharply, as a *loose*, *incorrect*, and *verbose* Writer. This Judgment was not ratified by Posterity: *Lucilius* continued the popular Author, and was in every Body's Hands; while his Rival

² *Exemplares de Mig. de Cervantes, Novela V.*

became the Favorite of the select Few. In some Sense, it is so still; for though the degrading his Works into a *School-Book* has enabled every Smatterer to quote *Horace*, he is not thoroughly understood by the Majority of *Latin-Scholars*. The very *Plans* of his best Pieces suppose no slender Acquaintance with *History*, *Philosophy*, and various *Literature*; and his Art in conducting them is too fine to be perceived, and his Sentiments too uncommon to be relished by the learned Vulgar. In vain have we Recourse to *Translations* made by ingenious and learned Men: *Dacier* and *Duncan* may have perfectly understood him themselves; but it is beyond their Power to transfuse the Spirit and Elegance of the Original³.

After tracing this Branch of Learning from its first Rise to its highest Perfection, we shall conclude the Research with a View of the State of

³ ‘ I must confess, that the Delight which Horace gives me is but languishing (be pleased still to understand that I speak of my own Taste only). He may ravish other men, but I am too stupid and insensible to be tickled,’ says even the ingenious *John Dryden*; who prefers *Juvenal’s* founding Verse to the nicely-touched Characters and refined Composition of our Poet.

‘ Serene and clear harmonious *Horace* flows,
With Sweetness not to be express’d in *Prose*.
I, who have serv’d him now these twenty Years,
Scarce know my Master, when that *Dress* he wears.
Roscommon.

the *other* Parts of Poetry at this Period — and point out the prime Favorites of the tuneful Train, who felt the happy Raptures of an inspiring Muse : and that Account we can take from no better Hand than from *Horace* himself.

About the DCCXIX Year of the City, and the twenty-eighth of *Cæsar's* Age, the Summer after *Sextus Pompey's* Death and *Antony's* Return from *Parthia*, *Horace* was writing his miscellany Discourses; and in the End of the first Book gives the following Sketch of the State of Poetry, and its Professors at *Rome*:

The Beginning of that Century had seen *Lucretius*, *Catullus*, *Calidius*, and *Cinna* sitting on the Summit of *Parnassus*; but after the Death of *Calidius* who survived the other three, *L. Varius* was in Possession of the Character of *the greatest Epic Poet*. He is acknowledged as such both by *Virgil* and *Horace*: and yet, it is strange, no Work of his has survived — nor has even the Name reached us of any of his Epic Compositions. His Tragedy (*Thyestes*) which he published some Years after this, procured him the Reputation of an eminent Tragic Writer, and a Poem on *Cæsar*, still higher Favor as a Panegyrist: but I can find no Mention of any of his other Works — nor ascertain on what Performance his *Epic* Reputation was founded. Without Doubt, he must either have published something of that Nature before *Horace* had wrote his Satires; or at least have read to his Friends some Parts of a Heroic Poem he had then on the Anvil.

There is an artful Way of showing Abilities that makes some Men *appear* capable of Productions, to which at Bottom their Genius is not equal: Witness the celebrated Mr. *Conrart*, the first Secretary to the *French Academy*, who, without publishing any one Thing of his own, found Means to pass all his Life for a Person of superior Capacity and judgment.

In *Tragedy*, — the Palm was given to the well-known *Asinius Pollio*; and *C. Fundanius*, Brother-in-law, I believe, to *M. Varro*, was allowed to have the happiest Genius for *Comedy*. Besides other Productions of the severer Drama, published during the civil War*, *Pollio* had an Intention to make *that War itself* the Subject of a Tragedy, and to bring the great Actors in it, *Pompey*, *Cato*, *Curio*, and *Cæsar*, each in his proper Character, upon the Stage. He had been deeply engaged in it himself, — was intimately acquainted with all the Chiefs, and therefore perfectly qualified to paint Characters, and narrate Transactions: he meant to do both; having likewise composed a *History* of that unhappy and calamitous War. This was published, and admired; but as for the *Tragedy*, he seems to have taken the same Person's Advice, who

* *Pretextam*, si voles legere, *Gallum Cornelium*, familiarem meum poscite.

allows him here to be the *first* Tragic Poet', but who, in a wonderful Ode addressed to him much about this Time, warns him plainly of the Danger of treating so ticklish a Subject: 'The Blood spilt in the cruel Struggle was yet warm, and the Wounds not yet closed — the greatest Men were by some Tie or other all interested in the fatal Catastrophe: — would he venture to play with such dangerous Materials, or dare to tread upon Ashes that covered a devouring Fire? or supposing that he had actually completed the hazardous Draught, might it not be proper to *defer* the Publication, — to apply his great Talents and powerful Influence to *resettle* the State; and when that was accomplished — when Passions had cooled, and Men's Minds were returned to their wonted Quiet, then he might resume the *Athenian* Buskin, and like *Sophocles*, paint the Crimes of Kings, big with Mischief and Misery.' But

— — *Pollio Regum*

Facta canit, pede ter percusso.

Motum, ex *Metello* consule, civicum,

Bellique causas, & vitia, & modos;

Ludumque Fortunæ, gravesque

Principum amicitias, & arma,

Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,

Periculosa plenum opus aleæ,

Tractas, & incedis per ignes

Suppositos cineri doloso.

Horat. Lib. II. Ode I.

Pollio, though placed at the Top by *Horace*, was soon surpassed by succeeding Tragic Writers; and the delightful comic Scenes of *Fundanius* were no longer-lived than *Varius'* Epic Poems.

But after pointing out the distinguished Favorites of the *Heroic*, *Tragic*, and *Comic* Muse, the Precedency in two Species of Poetry still remained to be disposed of, *Pastoral* and *Satire*. The supreme *Sweetness* and *Pleasantry* of the former he assigns to *Virgil*, who for certain had then published nothing considerable but his *Eclogues*; and he himself claims the chief Talent for *Satire*, preferably to *Varro* the *Atacian*, Author of the *Argonautic Expedition*. That famed Poem was promised the Admiration of Ages by a very able Judge⁷; and yet the exalted Genius that produced it, had, it would seem, but ill succeeded in satirical Composures. These were the eminent *Writers*.

The *Judges* of Writing, and Readers of Taste, who though not professed Authors, both composed themselves, and judged with Candor of others, were chiefly these following. *Cilnius Mecenas*, the Patron of polite Learning led the Van; then *Plotius Tucca*, *Fuscus Aristius*, and *C. Octavius*, no less remarkable for Probity, than for his Abilities in Literature⁸. He was probably

⁷ *Varronem*, primamque ratem, quæ nesciet *Ætas*.
Ovid.

⁸ — & probet hæc *Octavius* optimus — Horat.

the Son of *Pompey's* Admiral, (who fought against *Julius Cæsar* in the *Theſſalic*, *African*, and *Spaniſh* Wars), and Father, perhaps, of the famous Glutton *P. Octavius*, who rivalled even *Apicius*, and carried off in Triumph the huge Mullet ſet to Sale by *Tiberius's* Order¹. But among the Reſt, two great Perſons are mentioned by *Horace* with a peculiar Mark of Diſtinction², *Mæſſala Corvinus*, and *Aſinius Pollio*; Men of great *personal* Dignity, who ſtood upon their own Bottom, and though not mixing with the Knot of *Cæſar's* *Intimates*, were rather more reſpected for their Remains of Patriotiſm. *Mæſſala's* Brother, the faithleſs *Publicola*, is likewiſe mentioned as a Judge and Patron of Learning. Surely he muſt have been much reformed; or his *Party-Merit* with *M. Antony* which had lately raiſed him to the Conſulſhip³, muſt have covered the Crimes

¹ He gave *quinque H. S.* (almoſt forty Guineas) for this Fiſh; which, they ſay, weighed four Pounds and a half, — double the uſual Size.

Senec. Ep. XCVI.

² Ambitione relegatâ, Te dicere poſſim,
Pollio, Te Mæſſala, tuo cum fratre —

Horat.

³ He was made Conſul four years before his Brother *Mæſſala* Anno U. C. DCC, XVII. along with the great Negotiator *Cocceius Nerva*; and having abdicated the Supreme Magiſtracy (I know not for what Reaſon), was ſucceeded by *Munatius Plancus*, now one of *Antony's* chief Confidants. *Faſti Capitol.*

of

of his Youth', and made his Name appear not unworthy to stand with his eminent Brother's. Some others of the young Nobility, who had not fallen at *Philippi*, nor been sacrificed on the horrid *Perugian* Altar, make up the List of *Horace's* Friends; *Servius Sulpitius*, the great Lawyer's Son, and *Lucius Bibulus*, the Admiral's; the candid *Furnius*, *Antony's* Minister; and a young Man of great Genius, *C. Valgius* (who was honored with *Messala's* Confidence, and afterwards thought almost another *Homer**), is now only ranked with *Virgil*, among the Judges of Poetry. Neither of these Sons of the Muses had as yet taken those Flights that carried them afterwards over the Heads of all their contemporary Poets.

But as no Profession can be much honored without producing many Pretenders, wherever Wit is regarded, there will be Abundance of Witlings; and one good Writer rewarded, raises a Multitude of Scribblers. These *Excrescences*, though the Spawn of Vanity and Indigence, never fail to spring along with the liberal Arts. Conscious of their own Insufficiency, they generally herd together, and club Wits to bear down any Merit that eclipses their own. The Men therefore of true Genius, whom we have named, had for

* See Vol. III. page 18. and 146.

Est tibi, qui possit magnis se accingere rebus,
Valgius; æterno propior non alter Homero,

says the modest and elegant *Albius Tibullus* to *Val. Messala*. Lib. IV. El. I.

their Detractors a Set of pert Poets, Musicians, and Court-sycophants, who made some Sort of Figure, and therefore require our Notice.

The Conquest of *Greece* had first civilized the rude *Romans*; and the Conquest of *Asia* soon after corrupted them. The *Grecian* Colonies early settled along that delicious Coast, and the Inhabitants of the adjacent Islands, had felt the Power of the enervating Clime; and the *Macedonian* Conquest having peopled the inland Cities of *Asia* with new Swarms, they too quickly learned the Vices of the Soil. They were now conquered by the *Romans* in their Turn, and became the chief Instruments in tainting the Manners of their Masters. It was the *Asiatic Greeks* that were the Ministers of their Pleasures, and who knew but too well the unhappy Art of joining Elegance to Luxury. They assumed all Characters, and exercised all Professions. The Men of Activity and Address applied themselves by the most artful Flattery to gain the Confidence of the *Roman* Magistrates: then, as Publicans, or *Financiers*, they farmed the Revenue of their Province, and became immensely rich, notwithstanding the magnificent Presents they were obliged to make to the succeeding Governors, and Bribes to their Minions. Of this Rank was the noted *Phameas*, a necessary Man to *Julius Cæsar*, and very gracious with all his Favorites. *Phameas* had the prettiest Taste in

ordering a Table, of any Man in Rome', and was blest with a Grandson of still higher Accomplishments. He had a Cause depending before the Pretor, in which he had procured, I suppose by *Hirtius* and *Pansa's* Means, a Promise from *Cicero* to appear and plead for him. He accordingly came of a Morning to that great Man's House, told him his Cause was to be called *that very Day*, and hoped he would attend to defend it. *Cicero* said, 'he was sorry 'it should have so happened; but he, (*Phameas*) well knew the deep Obligations he lay 'under to *P. Sextius*, who in a Cause of a 'higher Nature was to be acquitted or condemned that *same Day*, and whom he could 'by no Means desert; but as the Time of calling *his* (*Phameas's*) Cause was not fixed by Law ' (which was *Sextius's* Case), if he pleased to bring 'it on *any other Day*, he would not fail to appear and patronize him.' This Answer the old Gentleman thought fit to take in extreme ill Part; and having informed his Grandchild, the famous *Tigellius*, (who was necessary to *Cæsar's* Pleasures in *another Way*), they both railed so bitterly against *Cicero*, that his Friend *Fabius Gallus* thought it his Duty to write to him of their Insolence. He answered, *some Time*

' Nec tamen eas cœnas quæro ut magnæ reliquæ fiant; quod erit, magnificum sit & lautum: memini te mihi *Phamea* cœnam narrare — temperies fiat; cætera eodem modo.

Cicer. ad Pap. Pæt.

ago, when I was said to be all-powerful in Rome, there was not such Respect paid to me by any Body as I now meet with from every one of Cæsar's intimate Friends, except this one Man — that, I reckon a real Happiness — not to be obliged to bear with a Fellow of a more pestilent Nature than his native Climate (Sardinia), and one whom Calvus has in his Satires bound over to eternal Infamy. — But Phameas knowing that he has a pretty Kind of Piper, and no bad Bagnio-keeper, to his Grand-child, presumes upon his Merit with our Masters'. So much for Sale-Slaves from Sardinia — each more Rogue than the other': You see, Sir, my

' Ille autem qui sciret se nepotem bellum Tibicinem habere, & sat bonum Unctorem, discessit a me iratior. By the Word *Unctor*, I cannot doubt but that Cicero meant to express the Greek Term *Ἀλείπτης*, the discrete Person who rubbed and anointed the Gentlemen, and latterly the Ladies (a), after they came out of the Bath.

(a) Callidus & *** digitos impressit *Aliptes*,
Ac summum Domine femur exclamare coegit.

Juv. Sat. VI.

' Sardinia was conquered by the Consul T. Manlius, betwixt the first and second Punic War. There was little Booty but Slaves — and of these Sempronius Gracchus sent afterwards home such a Multitude, that the Public Crier, weary of telling their Country and Qualities one by one, as was usual at the Sale, bawled out, *Sardos venaleis, alium alio nequiores*, which passed into a Proverb, and is here applied by Cicero to Phameas and his Grand-child.

Case; and the groundless Insolence of that would-be Sycophant *.

Tigellius had a fine Voice, played admirably on the Flute, had great Access to the fair Sex, which he complaisantly employed to oblige his Friends. But besides these useful Talents, he had Pretensions to Poetry, affected the Character of a Wit, was profuse, capricious, and unequal, as if he had been a real one. The Estate left him by *Phameas*, and the Liberalities of two Princes, enabled him to make a Figure. — he kept a good Table, where amidst Fiddlers and Witlings like himself, *Varius* and *Virgil*, *Horace* and *Pollio*, were run down for poultry Poets, while *Bavius*, *Mevius*, *Crispinus*, *Fannius*, *Hermogenes*, *Demetrius**, *Tigellius*, and their Cabal (whose Abilities reached no farther than perhaps a Song in the Manner of *Calvus* and *Catullus*), passed for the true Sons of *Apollo*.

Had these Poetafters been quite obscure, perhaps they might have escaped the ridicule that

* *Istius Salaconis iniquitatem.* *Salaco* signifies a Fellow who assumes a State he has neither Fortune nor Merit to support: such as we daily see hanging on about great Men's Houses, and some of them precisely with the same Qualifications as *Phameas*, Pimps, Publicans, and Connoisseurs in *French* Cookery.

* *Fannius*, *Hermogenes*, and *Demetrius*, appear by their Names to have been of *Grecian* Extract, like *Tigellius*. Has *Nero's* execrable Minister, *Tigellinus*, been a Descendant of this *Tigellius*?

Virgil and *Horace* have for ever affixed to their Names : but as it constantly happens, they joined Petulance to bad Poetry, an ill Heart to a rhyming Head ; and having at the same Time their circle of Admirers, like *** or *Frelon*, they became considerable enough to be marked for Fools by the Pens of the first Poets in *Rome*. *M. Bavius* died soon after this, banished to *Capadocia* ; nor did *Tigellius* long survive him. *Mevius Gallus* was sent abroad with the satirical Song writ by *Horace*, that gives Reason to suspect his Person to have been as nauseous as his Morals were corrupt. In the first of these Respects, he has not probably been resembled by his Sister, who was a Woman of Gallantry. The *Roman* Ladies did not change their maiden Name when they married ; so that *Mevius*' Sister kept that of *Mevia Galla* in her married State : we would have called her *Mrs. Galls*. She was suspected of an Affair with *Plancus*, who made a much better Figure at the Bar than he had done in the Field ; and, now that the Courts of Justice were re-established, resided for the most Part at *Rome*. *Plancus* was warmly engaged in the Cause of a Friend, and wanted to mar the Evidence on the other Side by putting a troublesome Witness out of Countenance ; and therefore, though he knew well that the fellow was a Leather-dressing Cobbler, with a solemn Air he put the Question to him, ' *What Business he followed — ?*' and received an Answer that might have convinced *Plancus*, that as there

was no passing for a great Captain without Courage, nor for a Patriot without Integrity, he must not pretend to play the Cenfor (as he afterwards did), without a suitable Life and Conversation¹.

To compensate the Petulance of *Tigellius* and his Cabal, *Horace* not only met with the Applause he deserved from the able Judges just mentioned, but received a particular Mark of Esteem from the Prince himself. *Mecenas* had put some of his Poet's *miscellany* Conversations into *Cæsar's* Hand, who was so pleased with their Turn and Taste, and so persuaded that they would stand the Test of Ages, and prove immortal, that he wished to appear in them to Futurity. He therefore did their Author the Honor to write a Billet to him; which he concluded, after a due Commendation of his Satires, with the following humorous Sentence, *Let me tell you, however, that you have fallen under my*

¹ *Munatius Plancus* in judicio forte amici, cum molestum testem destruere vellet, interrogavit, quia *Sutorem* sciebat, quo artificio se tueretur? ille urbanè respondit, *Gallam Subigo*. Sutorium hoc habetur instrumentum, quod non inficetè in adulterii exprobrationem *ambiguitate* convertit; nam *Plancus* in *Mevia Galla* nuptâ male audiebat. Macrobian.

' *Business, Sir!* said the Cobbler: ' *Ay Business —*
' *What is your Trade or Employment? My usual Employ-*
' *ment, answered the Droll, is the same with your's; We*
' *both dress Galls.* '

Displeasure — because you do not address these Discourses principally to Me, and give me the chief Share in the Dialogue. Are you afraid it should hurt you with Posterity, if it appeared that you had lived with me in some Familiarity?

Horace was too courtly to interweave the Prince in any Conversation with himself; and perhaps found it difficult to do it properly, with *Mecenas* or his other *Ministers*. It was a delicate Undertaking, to introduce Persons on whom all Mankind had their Eyes, conversing in a Manner worthy of them. He therefore waved *Cæsar's Character* in his Satires; but addressed the admirable Discourse to him, by Way of Letter, which contains the finest History of Learning, and the justest Criticism of *Roman Poetry*, that was ever yet published².

² Cum tot sustineas & tanta negotia solus, &c.

B O O K XII.

THOUGH the Miseries entailed upon the Romans by the civil Wars seemed to be now at an End, and that nothing but public Shows and private Feasting was to be seen at Rome, yet neither the young *Cæsar's* Ambition, nor the State of his Affairs, permitted him to remain long inactive. His Colleague *M. Antony's* vast Armaments filled him with Apprehensions, and his own mutinous and insatiate Army lay a heavy Burden upon him in Time of Peace. He was, besides, in the Height of Life, when it did not become him to sit idle at home with *Livia*; and the Designs he had by this Time formed of establishing his Power, made it proper to seek military Reputation in some other Way than the Effusion of *Roman Blood*. To obtain these Ends, and at once cut out Work and make Provision for his Troops, he must think of some Expedition, if possible not too far from the unsettled Seat of Empire: and the restless Tribes of *Dalmatia* offered him a known Field of Action, just on the opposite *Adriatic* Shore.

In the happy Times of Rome, under the Consular Government, their Arms had acquired Glory in *Dalmatia*. Its hardy Inhabitants living

in the Woods, and addicted to Robbery, had attacked their *Illyrian* Neighbours, when become tributary to the *Romans*; who according to their constant Maxim, did not fail to march to the Assistance of their Allies. The Consul *Marcus Figulus* laid Siege to their Capital *Delminium*. It stood on the Top of a steep Rock, which rendered it inaccessible to the battering Ram, and a Scalade impracticable. He had therefore Recourse to an Invention, not unlike our Bombs, or red-hot Cannon-Ball. Having fitted Stakes of dry Wood to his Cross-Bow-Machines, he set the Ends of them on Fire; then shot from the Engine, they flew blazing through the Air, and falling upon Timber-Buildings, quickly laid the City in Ashes. — It was not rebuilt. *Salona*, a Sea-port, lying conveniently for trading to *Italy*, became the Capital, and was filled with *Roman* Merchants. Here *Cecilius Metellus* passed a peaceful Winter, and led a mock-Triumph over the *Dalmatians* in the Spring. But these warlike People resumed their Arms during the *Cæsarean* Confusions, and totally routed *Gabinus*, who had deserted *Pompey* the Great, and was leading through their Country some raw Legions to *Cæsar*. After the Dictator's Death, they fell upon his deformed Instrument *C. Vatinus*, killed his Lieutenant *Bebius*, and forced himself to take Refuge in *Durazzo*, where *M. Brutus* stript him of his Command. All *Macedon* and *Illyria*, long happy under the Consuls, were well affected to *Pompey* and the Commonwealth,

and lent willingly their Assistance to *Brutus* and *Cassius* in their Attempt to restore it to Liberty. But *Asinius Pollio*, first a *Cæsarean*, and now, which was equivalent, an *Antonian* General, while commanding on the East-Coast of *Italy*, had *Dalmatia* almost in his View: and it is not to be doubted, but that his active Spirit, and high Ambition would put him upon forming Designs of Conquest and Triumph in that Country, when he came to be Consul himself. There stood a Town in the Heart of it, called *Parthium*, which gave Name to a Tribe, the *Parthinians*: these, allured by the Broils among the *Triumvirs*, or encouraged under-hand by *Pollio's* Emissaries, took Arms according to his Wish, and having laid waste all the low Country about *Durazzo*, they marched to *Salona*, put the *Roman* Inhabitants to the Sword, and drew all *Dalmatia* to take Part in expelling their Invaders. It was in *Antony's* Department of the Empire; and with his Consent, if not by his express Orders, *Pollio* led the Army he had commanded for five Years, to quell the Insurrection. He was now a Leader of great Experience, having had many Trials of good and bad Fortune in War. He had fought but too successfully under *Julius Cæsar* and *Marc Antony*; but was fairly beaten by *Sextus Pompey*, when sent to succeed *Carrinas* in *Spain*. He had shown his Back at *Milan* and *Foligno* to *Salvidienus* and *Agrippa*, and was forced to lie upon the defensive until the Peace of *Brindisi*. With this

Experience he passed over his Army into *Dalmatia*, and in several Onsets (for I can scarce call them Battles) dissipated the Bodies of the Natives that opposed him; then laid Siege to their Capital *Salona*, which he took; and having stript the Inhabitants of their only Possessions, their *Arms*, *Lands*, and *Flocks*, returned triumphant to *Rome*, in the End of the Year.

In the Memoirs which the young *Cæsar* wrote of his own Life, this Expedition and Triumph of a Man whom he did not love, was, I apprehend, *slurred* over: and the Conquest only mentioned, without naming the Conqueror, or so much as the conquered People. ‘I find, says *Appian*, (speaking from this Record of *Cæsar*’s own Performances,) that another *Dalmatian* Nation was subdued by the *Romans*, but cannot ascertain which it was (it has been the *Parthinians*;) for *Cæsar*, who got the Name of *Augustus*, relates only his own, not other Men’s Achievements.’

Asinius Pollio was a very extraordinary Person. During the three civil Wars, in all which he bore high Command, he had effectually improved the Opportunities they afforded of making Money; he had too much profited by the *forfeited Estates* at the cruel Proscription, and now, when commanding in chief, he absorbed the Wealth of Nations. At the Head of this immense Fortune, he assumed high State, and supported a Character which he had aimed at from his first entering upon Business in the Days of Freedom

and the Common - weal. When scarce one - and - twenty, he managed the Impeachment of *Caius Cato* the incendiary - Tribune, with such Spirit and Eloquence, that the Speeches he then made were long read with the Admiration already mentioned. In short he so acted the *independant Patriot*, as to be ranked by *Tully* with *Marcus Cato* for his Love of Liberty and Virtue¹. But in pursuing this steady Course of the best Ambition, he had incurred the Displeasure of many powerful Citizens, and particularly created to himself some dangerous Enemies among *Pompey's* intimate Friends. To shelter himself from their threatened Resentment, he was *driven* (as he affirms) to take Side with *Cæsar* against his Will²: but in the Midst of Party - violence, on Occasions where he could *act freely*, he gave signal Proofs of Moderation and Humanity. At *Cæsar's* Death, the same Disposition (or more interested Motives³) made him offer his Army and Services to the *Senate*: and now he held such a Conduct,

¹ *Quintus filius, mirus civis! ut tu Catonem vel Asinum dicas.*

Cic. ad Attic. Ep.

² Cum non liceret mihi nullius partis esse, quia utrobique magnos inimicos habebam, ea castra fugi in quibus plane tutum me ab insidiis inimici sciebam non futurum. Compulsus eò quo minime volebam, ne in extremis essem, plane pericula non dubitanter adii.

A. Asin. Pollio ad Cic.

³ See Vol. IV. page 164.

as became the Prop of a sinking State. A Man of spirit, who shows a Regard for his Country and the Laws amid the Disorders and Rapine of an Usurpation, is almost adored by the Public: all good Men turn their Eyes upon him, and in their Esteem and their Affection he acquires a Dignity and Weight beyond the Power of Arms to bestow on a Tyrant, or his Favor on his Tools. But such a Man was *Pollio* during the Triumvirate. His high Merit with *M. Antony*, and low Opinion of the young *Cæsar*, rendered him almost independant: for presuming upon the mighty Services he had done the former, and undervaluing the Irresolution and Inequality of the latter, he dared to act up to the Consular Dignity; — he restrained Violence, administered Justice, and afterwards marched with his Legions to govern and to conquer, as if he had been still under the Common-wealth. But this was not all, for along with these superior Talents, *Pollio* was unacquainted with no one of the *finer Arts**; he was allowed, as we have heard, to be a Judge and Master in Poetry and Eloquence, — he had great Vivacity, and a happy Turn of Humor suited to all Places and Persons⁵. We

* *Est enim lepōrum*

Disertus puer, ac facetiarum, says the witty *Catullus* of *Pollio* to his wrong-headed Brother *Asinius Marrucinus*.

⁵ De *Pollione Asinio*, feriis jocisque pariter accommodato, dictum est, *Esse eum omnium horarum hominem*.

Quintil. Lib. VI. § 4.

accordingly find him an early Favorite with the greatest Geniuses of his Age, *Licinius*, *Calvus*, *Valerius Catullus*, *Cornelius Gallus*, and in his Turn, the Protector of *Horace* and of *Virgil*.

While shining with this double Lustre, a Patriot in public, a Patron of Learning in private, — while subduing Provinces, and preparing for Triumphs, *Quintia* his Lady was delivered of a Son, and filled his Family with new Joy, and his Friends with Congratulation. At *that* Conjunction did *Virgil* compose and present him with the celebrated *Birth-day-Ode*, which still bears his Patron's Name. It has occasioned great Speculation; chiefly because some well-meaning Fathers of the primitive Church will needs have it to be a divinely-inspired Prophecy of our Saviour's Nativity*. That did not happen till more than forty Years after *Herius Saloninus* was born: nor do I know any religious End which *Virgil's* Eclogue served, except the very superfluous one of misleading the credulous Fathers in their Faith, and giving them a Subject on which to flourish. If, beside the bewitching Charm of its Poetry, it did substantial Service, it was to confirm *Pollio* in his *Patriot-Principles*, and prompt him by⁷ exquisite Praise

* Εὐσεβ. Κορυθαίλιος βίος. *Lactant. Lib. V. § 7. Augustin. Ep. 156. ad Martian.*

⁷ At simul heroum laudes & facta parentis
Jam legere, & quæ sit poteris cognoscere Virtus.

to exert himself in putting a Stop to the Calamities of the Empire. It is written in *Pollio's own Style* — strong, concise, sublime, starting from Image to Image, with delicate but unexpressed Connexions, and ending abruptly when you least expected the Conclusion⁹.

Virgil, as I formerly observed, had not only a native Flow of Verse, but was extremely learned, and perfectly versed in *Antiquity*. He had all the *Grecian Doctrine of the Sphere*⁹ full in his View, and appears, even in his *Pastorals*, acquainted with the *Tenets* peculiar to the several Sects of Philosophy and Religion. The most illiterate *Roman* had heard of the *Sybilline Verses*; and the four Ages of the World, named and characterized from the four Metals, were known to their Children. A step farther leads to an ingenious Speculation which will give us the true Key of this famous Prophecy, and teach us to look upon it as an elegant Rapture, more proper for Poets to imitate, than to be preached upon by grave Divines.

It is a general Opinion prevailing in every

⁹ *Pollio* — numerosæ vivacitatis haud parvum exemplum. — *Quintil.*

— *Asinii Pollionis* salebrosa & exiliens compositio, & ubi minimum expectes relictura. *Seneca*, Ep. C.

⁹ *In medio duo signa Conon*, — *Et quis fuit alter*
Descripsit radio totum qui gentibus Orbem;
Tempora, qua messor, qua curvus arator haberet.

Ecloga III.

Age,

Age, that the preceding Generation was more virtuous and happy than the present: you will hardly meet with an old Man who does not believe the People among whom he lives far inferior in Stature, Sense, and Manners, to those with whom he passed his Youth. This Persuasion makes Way for the Belief of another State of Things — a happy Period when none of the Vices and Miseries were known, that now afflict unhappy Mortals. A Tradition of this Nature gains easy Belief, and scarce needs any Proof but a Tale to make it be generally swallowed. It has been cast into various Shapes, poetical, historical, and religious, by the Retainers to the several Professions, and has been variously modelled to serve their different Purposes. They have accordingly borrowed from one another not only the poetical Imagery of the *four Ages*, but a philosophical Account of the primitive Fabric of the World, — its fatal Change to the Worse, and their Hopes of its returning in Course to its former blessed Condition^{*}.

^{*} Questo pensava, — e mentre piu s'interna
 la mente mia, vedere mi parve un Mondo
 Nuovo, in etate immobile ed eterna:
 e'l Sole, e tutto'l Ciel' disfare a tondo
 Con le sue Stelle; ancor' la terra e'l Mare;
 e risarne un piu bello e piu giocondo.
 In this new world there was to be
 Non alcun Mal; che solo il Tempo mesce,
 e con lui si diparte, e con lui viene.

The ancient *Sages*, particularly the Pythagoreans and their Platonic Followers, inculcated the Doctrine of *one grand Period*, containing *two* lesser Periods; ‘in the first of which the World
 ‘ was governed by *God* himself, and the Administration of all Things was carried on by *Genii*,
 ‘ or good Spirits, under his *immediate* Direction.
 ‘ It was *then* there was neither Winter from the
 ‘ Heavens nor War upon the Earth — that the
 ‘ untilled Ground poured forth her Treasure, and
 ‘ furnished necessaries in Plenty both to Man and
 ‘ Beast: But in the *second* Period, they said *God*
 ‘ had left the *Universe* (created originally *sensitive* and *rational*) wholly to itself; and *Men* to
 ‘ their own Foresight and Prudence, to provide
 ‘ for themselves in the best Manner they could.
 ‘ The two Periods, continued the *Sages*, are
 ‘ perpetually to succeed one another; so that
 ‘ when the second Period is at an End, then,

*Non havr' albergo il Sol' in Tauro o'n Pesce,
 per lo cui variar nostro lavoro
 Hor' nasce, hor more, ed hor' scema ed hor' cresce.
 F. Petrarca. Trionf.*

In the same Strain sings the greatest English Poet:
 Some say he bade his Angels turn ascance
 The Poles of Earth twice ten Degrees and more
 From the *Sun's* Axle: they with Labor pushed
 Oblique the centric Globe, to bring in Change
 Of Seasons to each Clime: else had the Spring
 Perpetual smiled on Earth with vernal Flow'rs
 Equal in Days and Nights. — *Milton.*

‘ by a certain stated Revolution of Things in
 ‘ Heaven , and Things in Earth , the celestial
 ‘ Bodies return to their primitive Positions — the
 ‘ Universe regains its *first* Constitution, and the
 ‘ *Ενιαυτος Μεγιστος* (or grand Circumvolution)
 ‘ begins anew ².’ The poetical *Sub*-division into
 four Ages , painting the gradual Decay of Na-
 ture and Degeneracy of Mortals under the Me-
 taphor of Metals , makes no essential Alteration
 in the general Doctrine of the grand Restoration.
The End of the Iron - age , says the Poet , prophe-
sied by the Cumean Sybil , is now come ; the
mighty Period begins to spring from on high. —
now unspotted Justice revisits the Earth , and Sa-
turnian Days begin to shine on the Sons of Men.
— while You are Consul Pollio ! shall the honored
Period commence , from Your Consulship we shall
date the Series of its blissful Progression ³.

Here we find the real Clew that will guide us
 through the Maze of Virgil's Pollio ⁴. Inattention

² Πλάτων ἐν Τιμαίῳ.

³ *Ultima Cumæ venit jam Carminis ætas.*

Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.

Jam redit & Virgo , redeunt Saturnia regna. —

Teque adeo , decus hoc ævi , Te Consule inibit

POLLIO ! — & incipient magni procedere menses.

⁴ The Compliment paid about this Time to Pollio by Vir-
 gil's Friend , Horace , (Lib. II. Ode 1.) is of the same
 high Import , and adapted to the same Patriot - character.
 He is not only the Refuge of the illustrious unhappy Per-
 sons oppressed by the Triumvirs , but the Oracle of the

to the high Character which that great Man sustained, and to the noble Part he acted as a Reformer of the State, a *Moderator* and even a *Check* upon the flagitious *Triumvirs*, has misled some learned Men to apply it to *Augustus*, and others to a much higher Meaning. But under *Pollio's* Consulate the young *Cæsar* had but just drenched the horrid *Perugian Altar* with *Patrician Blood*, and was writing *Libels* against *Pollio* himself: neither is it at all needful, when *Rome*, and the Poet's eminent *Patron* afford an apt and ample Solution, to go a hunting after Mysteries in *Palestine* or *Judea*.

Asinius Pollio therefore, excelling in Arts and Arms, had reduced the *Dalmatians* to a very low State. He threw down the Walls of their great Sea-port *Salona* (now *Spalatro*) dispeopled the Remains of *Dalminium*, — stripped the Inhabitants of their Pasture-lands and Flocks, and at last forced the whole Nation to deliver up their Weapons of War^s. But it was not in their

Senate, the *Supporter* of the State, and shining with the Honors of the DALMATIC TRIUMPH,

Insigne mæstis Præsidium reis,

Et consulenti Pollio Curia,

Cui laurus æternos honores

Dalmatico peperit triumpho, —

Mox, ubi Publicas res ordinaris, &c.

^s In the accurate *Strabo's* Description of this Country, we read,

Δαλμίων δὲ, μεγάλη πόλις, ἥς ἐπώνυμον τὸ ἔθνος μικρὸν δ' ἐποίησ,

Nature to be long quiet. In the Space of three or four Years, they had provided themselves with new Arms, and began to issue forth from their Woods, and descend in scattered Bodies from their Mountains to plunder the new Possessors and annoy the *Roman Colonies*. Here was Employment for *Cæsar's Veterans*, who, as they had been lately the Scourge of their Country, were now become the Terror and Torment of their Master. Their Demands were exorbitant and endless; they made Mutiny after Mutiny; and, in the Height of their Fury, put their Leader more than once in Hazard of his Life. War in so rough a Country, and with so hardy a Race as the *Dalmatians*, *Croatians* and *Stirians*, was no improper Exercise to tame them. Their Morasses and Mountains, — their thick Woods and Forts built upon Rocks, could let them spend the Fire that was dangerous in the Suburbs of *Rome*. His first Intention was, to have carried them over to *Africa*, to repress the Disorders arisen in that ill-governed Province; and he had actually gone so far as *Sicily* on his Way: but the News of the *Dalmatians* being in Arms, made him prefer a less distant Campaign. It proved however both laborious and bloody. The Natives had rendered

ὁ Νασικᾶς, καὶ τὸ πεδίου μνηλόετον, διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων — so that Dalmatia has been a constant Scene of War. This *Nasica* was the famous *Scipio*, whom the *Senate* judged to be the best Man in *Rome*; and so beloved by his Fellow-Citizens, as to be called *Corculum*.

their Country, which was naturally rugged, next to impassable, by cutting the Woods, and encumbering the Roads, so as scarcely the Legions, and far less the heavy Carriages, could pass over. The *Romans* were then forced to change their Route, and march through another Valley, when the Enemy rushed out of the Woods, attacked them fiercely in Flank and Rear, and were not repulsed without many Wounds. After this harassed March *Cæsar* penetrated into the Heart of the Country, and laid Siege to *Metulo*, the Capital of *Japodia*, (a bordering Nation of the *Dalmatians*.) *Metulo* stood on a woody Mountain, including two pointed Hills within its Walls, with a Valley between them. It was defended by a Garrison of three thousand picked Men, who fought with Fury rather than Courage, and gave a thousand Proofs of the highest Contempt of Death and Wounds. In the first Attacks they tumbled the *Romans* from their steep Walls headlong into the Ditch; and when a Bastion was begun to be reared to equal the Walls, they sallied out incessantly, interrupted the Work, and killed many of the Workmen: scarce had one Party been repulsed by the Legion on Duty, and retired into the Town, when another Party broke out, fell upon the other Side of the Bastion, and pulled it to Pieces, burning the Timbers used in raising it. But this was not the worst: for during the disastrous War at *Philippi*, (not a great many Miles from

Metulo)^{*} having found some of the great Machines which the *Romans* used for shooting Stones and heavy Darts, they had brought them into their City, and now play'd them with Success against *Cæsar*. They forced him to retire from the Wall, abandon the begun Bastion, and make Preparations at a greater Distance for attacking the Town in another Manner.

It was by a Tower of Wood, going upon Wheels, and covered with raw Hides to secure it from Fire. When with immense Labor it was pushed to the Foot of the Wall, a Folding-bridge, suddenly thrown from the Top of it, enabled the Soldiers to advance to a more equal Combat: Many Machines had been burnt, and many Attempts baffled by the Besieged, who repaired their Breaches over-night, and when one Rampart was pulled down, had another reared by the next Morning. *Cæsar* therefore, under the Protection of his Tower, built two long Platforms where the Wall was lowest, and fitted four Bridges to throw from them to the Battlements, when all was ready, he ordered a Legion to make a Circuit, and attack with Ladders the opposite Side of the Town, to draw off the Garrison; then he mounted himself the wooden Tower, from whence he had a full View of the Action, gave the Signal to throw the Bridges, and begin the Assault. The *Metolians* always alert, quickly perceived the Stratagem.—regained

^{*} Vol. III. p. 188

their Posts, and made a noble Defence: for while some of them were repelling the Assailants, others who had hid themselves without, suddenly rushed from either Side, and with long armed Poles and Scythes unhinged one of the Bridges, and tumbled it with all the Troops on it into the Mloat. From that they flew to the second and third, and served them in the same Way, all under *Cæsar's* Eye. He commanded a Body to advance upon the *fourth* Bridge, and once more to renew the Attack, but three Repulses with so much Blood and Ruin, — and the Sight of their Companions miserably crushed to Death, so damped their Courage, that they flatly refused to go on. At this Pinch *Cæsar* did the bravest Action of his whole Life. — He snatched a Shield from a Soldier, and, attended only by *Vigrippa* and *Luceius*, with two of his Guards *Iolas* and *Hiero*, he resolutely mounted on the last Bridge to renew the Fight. The daring Example and Danger of their Leader, filled the Troops with Confusion and Remorse. — They flew to support him in such Multitudes, that the Bridge, unequal to their Weight, came down with horrid Crash, and precipitated its armed Load from the Top of the towering Wall. Some perished in the Fall, others were maimed, and *Cæsar* himself was taken up wounded in his right Leg and both his Arms. As the whole Army had seen him lead on this Attack, and also the Fall of the Bridge, his first Care was to prevent the *Panic* which the Supposition of his

Death could not fail to spread among the Legions. He therefore remounted the wooden Tower, accompanied by the chief Field Officers, and showed himself to the Soldiery, who now doted on him, and willingly obeyed his Orders *to build immediately another Bridge.* The Sight of that new Preparative struck the *Metolians*; they thought it in vain to make farther Resistance to a Man undaunted by so many Disasters, and sent Deputies next Morning with the *five hundred* Hostages he had demanded, promising to admit a Garrison into the Citadel, while they, with their Families, retired into the lower Town. This was punctually executed; but the Day thereafter, when a *Roman* Tribune sent them word that they must *lay down their Arms*, they were in great Consternation; and having suddenly assembled their Wives and Children in their spacious Town-hall, they let the Tribune know, that if he offered the least Injury, they would set Fire to the Place, sell their Lives as dear as they could, and leave him nothing but Ruins. He persisted in his Purpose to disarm them; which they prevented by a sudden and desperate Attack in the Night; they surprised the newly admitted Garrison, mastered the Citadel, and put every Man in it to the Sword. After this, having neither Hopes of Pardon, nor of being able to hold out against *Cæsar*, in Rage and Despair, they set Fire to the public Building where they had their Wives, Children and Effects — a general Frenzy seized the Citizens

— many of the Women killed themselves — some threw their Children alive into the Flames; others first stabbed their Infants, and then tossed them in the Faces of the Soldiers; even the Prisoners and Hostages, who were safe in the Roman Camp, caught the Madness, and rushed upon Death: so that, like unhappy *Xanthus*⁷, the great and populous *Metulo* perished by the Hands of its own Inhabitants, and not a Vestige remained of the Capital of that brave People.

Cæsar spent some Days in receiving the Submissions of the other Towns, and settling his new Conquest; (for these *Transalpine* Tribes had never yet bore the Roman Yoke;) and then marched Northward in Quest of more *Glory* and *Plunder*. If there was a Blemish in the Character of an ancient *Roman*, it was carrying the Love of their Country *too far*: for so they could extend their Empire, and raise the Fame of *Rome*, they were not over-scrupulous about the *Causes* of declaring War. Some few of their greatest Men might be Exceptions from this Rule: A *Catulus* might dissuade, or a *Scipio* decline an unjust Enterprise; and a *Cato* might solemnly give his Opinion, that the rapacious *Cæsar* should be put in Chains, and given up to the Nations he had cruelly and causelessly invaded; but the general Run of the Consular Times, was the Aggrandizement of *Rome* at the Expense of her Neighbours.

⁷ Vol. III. 57.

The bordering *Gauls* and ambitious *Carthaginians* had in a Manner forced the *Romans*, after they had mastered *Italy*, to make their first Conquests in *France*, *Sicily*, *Spain* and *Africa*. Then the encroaching Kings of *Macedon* and *Syria* drew their Arms into *Asia* and *Greece*. From these Countries *Pompey the Great* carried them all over the East, to the *Kûr*, the *Araxes*, and *Euphrates*. But all this While the Nations living among the *Alps*, almost at their Doors, remained unsubdued; and much more the wild Tracts to the North, lying along the *Danube*, whose Names they scarcely knew, though within six or seven Days March of *Italy*. There was no Union among their Inhabitants; they frequently made Incursions in small Parties into the adjacent Provinces; but never joined in one Body to make Head against the *Romans*. This was the true Reason of their remaining so long unmolested, and accounts for what was Matter of Wonder to an ancient Writer, — that so great Armies of *Romans* should pass and repass the *Alps*, marching into *Gaul* and the farther Parts of *Spain*, without ever touching the numberless Tribes dwelling among these Mountains; and that even *Julius Cæsar*, a fortunate fighting Commander, should spend ten Winters in *Gaul* with the same Neglect of these plundering Highlanders.

It does indeed appear strange: but has not the same Thing happened in *Great Britain*? Have we not waged many foreign Wars, and sent many Fleets and Armies to the most distant

Parts of the *Globe*, while the *mountainous* Tracts of our Island remained uncivilized, if not unsubdued? It is within these few Years, in the humane and happy Reign of *George II.* that the Officer of a civil Court *dared* to go among them to execute the Laws; and even within my Memory, we were much better informed of Transactions in *America* or the *East-Indies*, than of what was passing within fourscore Miles of us in the *Highlands* of *Scotland* and *Wales*. Till of late, the Attention of the Government was not forced to turn itself that Way; which, it is to be hoped will be now continued to so important an Object, as a large and improvable Tract of our Country, full of a hardy People, hitherto indeed a Thorn in our Side, but who, with the Continuance of the same Attention and good Usage, cannot fail of soon becoming a sound Piece of our Dominions, and a great Addition to our native Strength.

But as this was the Campaign in which *Cæsar* gained more *personal* Honor (if I may so speak) than in any other of his Life, let us try to retrieve both the *Scene of Action*, and the *Series of his Conduct* from Obscurity.

On the South-Side of the *Danube* a vast Ridge of Mountains run from West to East almost parallel to the Course of the River. They branch out from the *Alps* at the Head of the *Adriatic*, and reach through *Austria*, *Hungary*, and ancient *Thrace*, all the Way to the *Euxine* Sea. On the South of these Mountains lies *Epirus*, and *Macedon*,

with the bordering barbarous Tribes often mentioned in the *Grecian History*: to the North lay the *Illyrian*, upper and nether *Pannonian*, and then the *Dardan* and *Mesian* Kingdoms, stretching down to the Mouth of the *Danube*. These now comprehend the lower *Austria*, *Stiria*, Part of *Hungary*, with *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, and the Western Provinces of *Turkey in Europe*: they lie, I say, on the South-Side of the *Danube*; for the northern Bank was possessed by the *Dacians*, *Getae*, and *Germans*, who were not reckoned within the *Roman Empire*.

The very last *Skirt* of the *Alps*, that shuts in the *Gulf of Venice*, and from a high Mountain, *Albi*, or *Alpi*, (which perhaps gave its Name to the whole Range) spreads itself in a long Declivity to the North-East, was the proper Seat of the *Japodians*; a half-Celtic half-*Illyrian* Nation, inhabiting from the *Adriatic Shore* all the Way to *Pannonia* and the *Danube*.

Cæsar had just demolished *Metulo* their Capital, and their Northern Frontier, according to *Strabo*, was *Wendo*, the German *Wien*, and our *Vienna*. That exact Author says they were furious Warriors; but, as we have heard, totally reduced by the young *Cæsar*. From *Aquileia*, the last Town of *Italy* on that Side, a Waggon-road of fifty Miles leads over Mount *Ocra*, the flattest of the *Alps*, to *Nauporto*; as does another from *Trieste*, (the ancient *Tergeste*), to the *Lugan Lake*. The *Corcora*, a navigable River, runs near *Nauporto*, which receives Goods from *Italy*

and *Dalmatia*, and carries them into the *Save*; that great Stream again joins with the *Drave*, and both falling into the *Noar*, receive the *Colap*, 'with which they form the famed Island *Segeſte*', and then all the five ſwell the *Donau-Strohm*' (ſo the *Germans* call the *Danube*) with the Tribute of a thouſand Hills. It appears from this Sketch of the Country, *how near* the *Illyrian Nations* lay to the *Seat of Empire*; and what convenient *Inlets* there were into this new Conqueſt. For this Peninſula, formed by the Confluence of ſo many navigable Rivers, with a fortified Town *Siskia* (now *Sifaken*) came to be the Head-quarters of the *Romans* in their Northern Wars. In the firſt they had waged with the *Illyrian King Gentius*, and the ſubſequent *Dalmatian Expeditions*, the Armies of the Republic had twice paſſed through the *Segeſtan*

* It is now known by the Names of *Zygſa*, or *Landſpurg*. Among the ingenious Men whom *Matthias Corvin*, King of *Hungary* (the *Mecenas* of the North), invited to his Court, was the famous *Antonio Bonfini*, an Italian Gentleman of great Genius and Learning. He viſited *Landſpurg* in Perſon, and gives an ample Account of the Situation of *Siskia*, and its magnificent *Ruins* in his admirable *Decades*, or *History of Hungary*, in XLV Books.

* The original Name of the *Danube* is the ſame with that of the *Tanais*; *Don* being the Appellation of many Rivers over Europe. It is compoſed of *Tbon*, or *Dhon* as the *Germans* ſound it, and *Aw*, their common Word for *Water*, *Donaw*.

Territories ; but without imposing Tribute or treating them as a conquered People. The *Segeftans* , who interpreted this Moderation as the Effect of Inability or Fear, had probably sent Succours to their *Japodian* Neighbours , or some Way taken Part in the War. However it were, *Cæsar* , under Color of chastising them, marched into *Pannonia* , a wide and woody Country ¹ , inhabited by a very numerous People.

The *Pannonians* had no Towns, nor any general Policy. The Tribes lived scattered and independent like the *Indians* ; so that though they were brave to Fierceness, and could bring a hundred thousand fighting Men into the Field, they were no formidable Enemy. *Cæsar* entered their Country in a peaceful Manner, restraining his Troops from Violence , or even pillaging the Rows of Huts abandoned by the Natives, who had betaken themselves to the Woods; but finding in his Progress, that they sent no Deputies, and frequently fell upon the Stragglers from his Camp, he began to burn their Hovels, and in a March of eight Days, laid every Thing waste with Fire and Sword.

When he approached to *Siskia* , an Embassy met him , to know his Purpose and Pleasure. He assured them, that he came with no hostile

¹ Inde glandifera Pannoniæ , quâ mitescentia Alpium juga per medium Illyricum molli in dextra ac læva devexitate confidunt.

Designs against their State; that he meant to use them as *Allies* against the *Dacians* and *Germans* beyond the *Danube*; and therefore only required such a Quantity of Corn for his Magazines, a Fort to garrison, and a hundred Hostages for that Garrison's Security in his Absence. The Men of chief Rank in the City thought these Conditions not unreasonable, and were beginning to execute them, when the Indignation of the Populace rose at the Sight of the Hostages going out to *Cæsar*: they first began to insult them, and when the Legion approached that was to garrison the Citadel, they flew in a Rage to shut the Gates, and appeared in Arms on the Wall. A Siege ensued of Course, which proved both laborious and bloody. The City *Siskia* was almost begirt with two navigable Rivers. The *Colap* ran just under the strong Wall, and the *Save* at so little Distance, that the Interval was fortified with a deep Trench and a Palisade within it. The Place must be attacked both by Land and Water, and *Cæsar* was under a Necessity of sending for Boats to the *Danube*, which he brought up the *Save*, and thence into the *Colap*, to beleaguer the whole Town. But this could not be done without some fierce Encounters on the River; in one of which the famous Sea-Officer, remarkable for Bravery and changing Masters, received his Death's wound. It was *Pompeius Menas*, *Pompey* the Great's Freedman, and his Son *Sextus*' chief Admiral: he had deserted four Times between *Sextus* and the young

young *Cæsar*. Having destroyed their fresh - water Fleet, *Cæsar*, no Novice in Sieges, encompassed the City with a Trench and a Wall: then he began to erect his Platforms, which the besieged attempted to pull down in many Sallies, and then to burn, with Fire thrown from the Walls: but being frustrated in both, their last Hope was placed in a Body of their Countrymen, who they heard were coming to their Relief. Against these *Cæsar* marched in Person; and having surprised them by an Ambush, killed the greater Part, and put the Rest to Flight: yet the resolute *Siskians* continued to defend their Walls; they held out a full Month against the most expert Army, and the best Generals then in the world, *M. Agrippa*, *Statilius Taurus*, *Fufius Geminus*, *Cornelius Gallus*, not to mention *Cæsar* himself: nor did they surrender (like the brave *Blakeney* late Governor of *Minorca*) till they were overpowered in a general and bloody Assault. Then the Citizens of *Segeste* first learned to beg for Mercy, which *Cæsar* was become too wise to refuse: he not only gave them their Lives, but a Part of their City to live in; having only imposed such a Contribution as he thought they were able to bear, and left *Fufius Geminus*, perhaps a Twin-son of old *Calenus*, with five-and-twenty Cohorts, about fifteen thousand Men. It was toward the End of *Autumn* when he took his Way towards *Italy* with the Rest of the Army: but he had not gone many Days, till a Report reached his Camp, that the *Segestans* had suddenly

taken Arms, and cut off *Geminus* with the whole Garrison left in *Siskia*. He immediately faced about, and by great Marches regained *Pannonia*, upon whose Confines he learned, that the News (as frequently happens) were but half true. The *Segeftans* had indeed risen, and killed such of the *Romans* as they could catch without their Works: but the tables had turned next Day, when the Garrison sallying out of the Citadel, attacked and carried the Town, and put the greater Part of the Inhabitants to the Sword. *Cæsar* then took his Route homeward through *Illyria*; but the Fate of the *Japodians* not having deterred the other wild *Dalmatian* Tribes inhabiting the *Candavian* Hills above *Apollonia*, the Place of his own Studies, they met him in Arms to the Number of twelve thousand hardy Men. In Effect, they had not laid them down for more than ten Years: for though we be uncertain whether they bore the Name of *Kinambers* or *Cambeans*, it was *they* who destroyed the five Cohorts (three thousand men) under the luxurious but brave *Gabinus*, and who now hoped to do the same to *Cæsar*. They had no fortified Town of their own that could contain or support such an Army; but marching suddenly down the Hills, they seized upon a strong Place *Promona*, a *Liburnian* City; and to carry on their Affairs regularly, chose an experienced Leader, *Werso*, for their General. He immediately set about fortifying the Town, cast up a vast Ditch and Rampart, and with great Skill and Foresight

placed strong Parties on the Tops of the steep Hills that *overhang* the Town, in Order to keep his Communication open with the high Country, and have a View of every Movement of the Enemy in the Plain. When the *Roman* Army found the *Dalmatians* in this Posture, it appeared there would be more Occasion for Skill than main Force to reduce them. For some Days, therefore, *Cæsar* made a Show of opening an immense *Line* that should encompass both the Town and the fortified Rocks behind it, which reared their Points like so many Turrets to the Sky. This Attempt was the Subject of much Derision among the *Dalmatians*; but while they were full of the Belief that the *Romans* were engaged in a vain and endless Work, *Cæsar* picked out a strong Detachment of his best Men, whom he sent in the Dark to hide themselves in Woods, with Orders to get *above* the fortified Hills, and attack their Guards next Night, with full Confidence of being well supported from below. He was obeyed — the farther Guards were caught asleep, and Hill after Hill was abandoned or taken: a sudden Terror seized the *Dalmatians*, who thought they were surrounded on all Hands; and these stationed on the highest Rocks were afraid of being excluded from Water, and therefore rushed down to take Refuge in *Promona*. The two Hills nearest the City still held out, with *Cæsar* did encompass with a Circumvallation of five *Roman* Miles, in Hopes of taking them by Famine, if not by Assault.

But while he was intent upon the Siege, a new raised Body of *Dalmatians* marched to the Relief of *Promona*, under another Chieftain, *Teutin*, whose Name is but once mentioned in History. *Cæsar* prevented their near Approach to his Camp; he attacked and routed them on the Mountains, and from what threatened him with Dishonor and Disappointment, he found Success and Victory. For the Besieged who had been prevented by the quick March of the *Roman* Army from completing their Fortifications, or raising them to a proper Height; now jumped down from their Rampart when they saw their Confederates engaged on the Heights, in Order to second their Efforts in raising the Siege. This proved their Ruin: for being beat back with great Slaughter, and flying precipitately into the City, the *Romans* entered pell-mell over the half-finished Work, and cut off a third Part of their Army: the Rest betook themselves to the Castle, at the Gate of which *Cæsar* placed a Cohort on Guard, while he lay with the *Preto-rian* Band and a select Legion in the City. They kept quiet in the Castle for three Nights; but the fourth they made a fierce sally, which so astonished the stationed Cohort that they shamefully abandoned their Post. The Legion on Duty quickly repulsed the *Dalmatians* into their Castle, which was surrendered the next Day. But the Cohort that lost its Honor underwent a severe Punishment: it was first decimated by Lot, and sixty men put to Death; then the Officers,

who were doubly guilty, were again decimated; and lastly two of the six Centurions were made Examples, and condemned to lose their Heads. The Rest of the Cohort were ordered to be fed with Barley-meal instead of Wheat, while the Army continued to keep the Field.

Thus *Cæsar* returned victorious from a toilsome Campaign. But neither the Acquisition of more Glory, nor the gaining the Hearts of his Army, could prevent his finding new Reasons of Disquiet and Anxiety at home. No Ties but Wisdom and Virtue can lastingly bind two Men sharing the supreme Power. When Ambition and Envy rule, their most evident Interest can scarce make them hang together. *Antony* and *Cæsar* were too well acquainted to put any Trust in one another's Probity or Friendship; and the former had too mean an Opinion of his young Colleague to lay himself under the least Restraint, or be at any Pains *not* to offend him. Let us consider his Behaviour, which naturally leads us back to the Affairs of the *East*.

Though *Antony* had hurried home from his *Parthian* Expedition with such Impetuosity, as to lose eight thousand of his Men among the Snows; and though after his Arrival he had abandoned himself wholly to *Cleopatra*, he still retained a deep Resentment of the *Armenian* King's Treachery; and as he could well dissemble when he pleased, he resolved to employ *Artuafdes'* own Arts to ruin him. For this End he pitched upon a plausible persuasive man, Q.

Dellius, very well versed in the Affairs of *Asia*, to go Ambassador to the *Armenian* Court. *Dellius* was dispatched with Assurances of the Continuance of the Triumvir's Esteem and Friendship to his Ally the King of *Armenia*; but was at the same Time instructed to let him know, 'that
' as he had been suspected, no Doubt wrongfully, it would be proper, to show his Innocence,
' that he came and put himself in the Power of
' the *Roman* General, and afterwards clear his
' Honor, and wipe off the least Imputation, by
' substantial Services against their common Enemy.' In this Case, he was to promise him the best Reception when he arrived, and such splendid Recompences, — such Accessions of Dignity and Dominion as were fit for a *King* to receive, and to be given by the Lord of the *Eastern Empire*. Conscious Guilt kept the *Armenian* long irresolute; but at last, upon *Antony's* advancing with a powerful Army in the Spring, partly through Terror of his Arms, and partly by the Persuasions of *Dellius*, the King resolved to trust himself to the *Roman* Generosity, and marched with a Royal Retinue into *Antony's* Camp. He was received with all the Demonstrations of Honor due to his Rank, and treated with great Splendor; being in Appearance at full Liberty to go or stay as he pleased.

The Pretence of this new Expedition towards *Armenia* (undertaken after the Interval of a Year, in which *Antony* had done little but frolicked with

Cleopatra) was the same with the former War against the *Parthians* — revenging the Death of *Crassus* — recovering the *Roman* Ensigns and *Prisoners* — retaliating the Succours sent to *Pompey* against *Cæsar*, and to *Cassius* and *Labienus* against the *Triumvirs*. These Reasons were specious: but the real Motive was just the same as formerly, a *Thirst of Gold*, now mixed with Revenge for the *Armenian's* Treachery, Accordingly a Track of Rapine marked the March of the *Roman* Army; and throughout all *Syria* and upper *Cilicia*, wherever there was any Thing to plunder, nothing was to be seen but Ruins and Desolation. The most sacred Places were not spared; even *Venus Anaitis*², the revered Temple of the East, was plundered, and the Object of the deepest Devotion, the Statue of the Goddess, of solid Gold, was carried off by a *Bolognese Veteran*. This holy Place was of great Antiquity; infomuch that the Image of the Goddess, who in their opinion animated and governed the Universe³, was said to be absolutely the *first* Statue of beaten

² This Epithet of *Venus*; unintelligible to the Greeks and Romans, is pure *Syriac*; and comes either simply from *ܐܢܝܬܐ* *Anitta*, *Woman*, *Female Nature*, or compounded from *ܐܢܝܬܐ* *Grace* and *ܐܢܝܬܐ* *Woman*: the Greeks lost the Aspiration, as in *Annibas*. See Vol. III. p. 77.

³ See a Description of her Power in the wonderful Introduction of *LUCRETIUS' Poem*, of *the Nature of Things*.

Gold that was ever dedicated in a Shrine. It is scarce possible to describe the profound Reverence with which it was worshipped by all the Nations round about, or the Veneration paid to the supreme *Pontiff* who ministered to this Divinity. He was next in Honor to the King, and had a rich and wide Domain around the Temple, with a numerous Train of consecrated *Servants*, especially young Women, who received Strangers hospitably, and exercised unreluctant their Profession — in Devotion to the Goddesses.

When this Temple was rifled by the Army that should have been the Protection of the Provinces, the Priests did not fail to give out, nor the People to believe, that the Officer who had sacrilegiously dared to pull the Goddesses from her Sanctuary *had been suddenly struck blind*, and remained a Monument of divine Vengeance. Instead of that, he rose to such a Rank, and lived in such Affluence, as to be able to entertain the young *Cæsar* at Dinner after he was Master of the Empire. The Report had spread in the *Roman Army*, as well as among the Natives, of the Plunderer's having been punished by Blindness, and was the Subject of Conversation at Table; when the Veteran being asked, whether he was really the Person who had carried off the Golden Statue? frankly confessed he was; adding, *that Cæsar had just dined upon the last Leg of the Goddesses* ¹.

¹ *C. Plin. Lib. 33. § 5.*

At the Head of these rapacious Bands *Antony* entered *Armenia* (whose King was in his Camp) as if only to *march through* it against the *Parthians* ; but with a firm Resolution to avenge himself of its Prince , and enrich his Troops with its Plunder. He therefore drew near to the Town and Castle, where the Royal Treasure and Jewels were kept, in an amicable Manner , in Hopes of being received as a Friend ; but found the Gates shut, and the Walls manned , to repel Force by Force, if any were offered: he stormed — called for *Artuafdes* , asked if he meant to treat the *Romans* as Enemies ? and if not, to command the Garrison instantly to open the Gates. Whether *Artuafdes* directly refused to give such Orders, or whether the Commander of the Garrison, who knew his real Intentions , refused to obey them, is uncertain : but however it were, *Antony* had the King immediately seized and put in Chains. Then he began openly to plunder the Country , and to avow the new Alliance into which he had previously entered with the *Median Artuafdes* , this Prince's greatest Enemy.

For as he had been satiated with Fighting and Sieges in these wide Countries the former Year, *Antony* resolved to employ a double Artifice, and, besides circumventing *Artuafdes* , to make, if possible , a Breach between the allied Kings, and secure the Conquest of *Armenia* by the Assistance of the *Median Power*. In this Attempt he was both favored by Fortune, and admirably

served by *Polemo*, whom he had made King of *Pontus*. We must be better acquainted with this brave and wise Man, who rose, like old *Deiotarus*, to the highest Honors by personal Merit, and whose incomparable Queen discovered Qualities truly royal, that shone throughout all the Reign of *Augustus*.

Polemo was of *Grecian* Extraction, being the Son of *Zeno*, the leading Man in *Laodicea*, a free City which we formerly mentioned. His Father's Opposition to *Labienus* and the *Parthians* brought his Family first into Favor; and the Services performed with great personal Bravery by the Son, made *Antony* (who was sensible of such Accomplishments) cast his Eyes upon the young Man, as a fit Person to succeed *Mithridates*, *Julius Caesar's* Minion, enriched with *Deiotarus's* Spoils. Wherefore, at the Partition of the Eastern and Northern Provinces, soon after the fatal Victory at *Philippi*, he settled *Polemo* King of *Pontus* and *Gadilone*. The young King attended as an Auxiliary in the *Parthian* Expedition, was taken Prisoner by the *Median* Horse at the Defeat of *Statianus's* Detachment, and, while in the Custody of *their* Prince, laid the Foundation of that Acquaintance that now enabled him to become a successful Negotiator for *Antony*. But this Negotiation had been greatly facilitated by the ill Usage which the *Median* King had received from the *Parthian* Tyrant, his Ally. Like the Lion in the Fable, *Phraates* had seized upon all the choicest Parts of the Booty gained

from the *Romans*, had left *Artuafdes* a very inconsiderable Share, answered haughtily when he complained, and sent him home to *Praaspa* in high Discontent, but not knowing how to obtain Redress. While he was in this Disposition *Polemo* arrived at his Court, with high Offers from the *Roman Triumvir* — not only of powerful Protection, and of grand Additions on either Side to his Dominions, but of Affinity and Kindred by the Marriage of the young Princess his Daughter, the beauteous *Jotape*, to *Ptolomy*, *Antony's* Son by *Cleopatra*. The Offers were tempting — *Artuafdes* accepted, and the Spring before *Antony* moved from *Alexandria*, to his no small Contentment, *Polemo* brought him a Ratification of the Treaty with the *Median King*.

But along with the Assurances of this Prince's Friendship, *Polemo* brought another Piece of important News, that the *Parthian Affairs* were in the utmost Disorder — that the oppressed *Grandeess* had taken Arms against their Tyrant *Phraates*; had driven him out of the Kingdom, where yet he had a Party that was tearing the Empire with a civil War. But though the Opportunity was every Way inviting, the Remembrance of the Toils he had undergone, and the Risques he had run last Year, and especially the Habit of *Luxury* growing upon *M. Antony*, got the better of the *Roman Passion*, the Love of Fame, and kept him like an enchanted Knight in the Queen's Palace in *Alexandria*. To show the real Temper of his Mind at this Time, how little he was his own Master, and how much the

Property of *Cleopatra*, it will be necessary to lay open the Secrets of *two Courts*, and represent a Scene acted by some of the first Personages then in the World.

Considering the Connexions of the two Triumvirs, and the constant Intercourse between *Alexandria* and *Rome*, we need make no Question of *Octavia's* being exactly informed of *Antony's* flagrant Irregularities, nor of the Grief with which a wise Woman, who loved her Husband's Honor and Interest, would receive the shameful News. But her Sorrow was silent, and her Tongue never uttered a Syllable that favoured of Complaining, or that reflected upon her Comfort: on the contrary, she was at great Pains to *soften* her Brother, who highly honored her, and had a proportionable Resentment of her Wrongs: ' *Antony*, she said, among many valuable Qualities, had an unhappy Weakness with Respect to Women, and was unluckily fallen into a very artful one's Hands — from whence, however, with his (her Brother's) Assistance, she hoped once more to recover him; and therefore, if he would be pleased to let her have a Body of Men fit to recruit *Antony's* Life-Guards, with Clothes for his Army, and proper Presents for his Favorites, she was resolved to undertake a Journey to her Spouse, and do her utmost to prevent the terrible Consequences which his present Course of Life threatened to bring on her and the *Roman State*.' *Cæsar*, with redoubled Admiration of his Sister's Virtue,

and Detestation of the Man who could abuse so much Sweetness, gave Way to her Solicitations; and *Octavia* having, with the Help of *Domitius* and *Pollio*, picked out two thousand Men, richly armed, and provided Store of Clothing and magnificent Presents, set Sail in the Spring from the *Tiber*, and steered towards *Athens*.

The News of her Approach, and intended Meeting with her Husband, threw *Cleopatra* into racking Disquiet: she dreaded every Thing from so accomplished a Rival — the Charms of her Person, the Sweetness of her Temper and Manners, heightened by the fairest Character, and backed by the Weight of her Brother's Power: — if, along with *these*, she should have Access to employ the melting Endearments of the conjugal State, she made no Doubt of her reclaiming *Antony*, and that she herself must be finally undone, wherefore, to prevent their Meeting if possible, the cunning Queen laid aside her Mirth and Frolics — she quitted by Degrees the *rakish* Manners that had formerly captivated the Triumvir, and now assumed a soft languishing Air, like a Virgin deeply in Love; — she brought down her Body with thin Diet — looked faintish and pale — took Care to be often caught in Tears, which she pretended to be anxious to hide. — she gazed on her Lover with Wonder, when he entered her Apartment, and her obedient Eyes suffused and melted as he was going away: at the same Time, Persons of a certain Trade, never wanting about Courts, beset him incessantly,

in Behalf of their incomparable Lady, and obsequiously presumed to chide him for Ingratitude. — Could he be so hard-hearted and barbarous, as to abandon a Princess who lived upon his Smile — who had given herself wholly up to his Pleasure — who, though a great Queen, and born to command Nations, thought her most glorious Title to be Antony's Mistress — so she could but see his Face and enjoy his Company — but who, if driven from his Presence and left forlorn, would most assuredly put an End to her Days before his Return. In short, these trusty Instruments so wrought upon his Weakness, that immediately after touching at Syria; he wrote to his Wife, not to advance farther than Athens, as he was obliged to repass into Armenia, on a fresh Expedition against the Parthians: and then, though his Army was assembled, and, upon Polemo's successful Negotiation and seasonable News, immense Preparations were made, yet he finally threw up the Expedition, — disappointed his new Ally the Median Prince, and hastened back to Alexandria, lest Cleopatra should die of Grief, or do some violent Thing in his Absence.

This was the fatal Step that hurried him to his Ruin: — he lost the fairest Opportunity of acquiring immortal Glory by the Conquest of the Parthian Empire, and could scarce avoid a Breach with his Colleague after such Contempt poured on his Sister, nor a consequent civil War.

With silent Grief the injured Octavia perceived that the Parthian Expedition was all a Feint; and

that her blinded Husband was resolved to sacrifice her, and her Brother's Friendship, to his *Egyptian* Mistress: yet still she bore with the cruel Treatment; and instead of sailing away in Discontent, or so much as reproaching him with his Misbehaviour, she only wrote back, desiring to know, *Where he would be pleased to have the Things delivered which she had brought from Rome for his Service?* This Letter was carried by *Aquilius Niger*, the same, I suppose, who afterwards wrote *Memoirs of the Life of Augustus*, and who in delivering his Message *did justice* to the Merit of *Octavia*. Her Husband heard him without Emotion; the Praises of a lovely Wife had no Effect upon a Man accustomed to Debauch from his Youth, and who was now plunged in two *stupifying Vices*, *daily hard drinking*, and many a *lewd Commerce* besides with *Cleopatra*: he therefore *stooped* to receive the Presents she had brought, at the same Time that he poured Dishonor and Neglect upon the best Wife and most beautiful Woman of her Age.

When she returned to *Rome*, her Brother provoked out of Measure, would have had her come and live with him in the Palace: but she went directly to, what she still called, her *Home*, that is to *Antony's House*; where she attended his Affairs, entered into the Interest of his Friends, and took Care of the Education of his Children, as if he had not offered her the least Indignity. If she made any Distinction between his Children by *Fulvia* and her own, it was by treating those

more tenderly, and bestowing more liberally upon their Education and Equipage. She had a large and lovely Family: two Daughters and a Son (the noble *Marcellus*) by her first Husband^{*}; *Antony's* two Sons (*Antyllus* and *Filius*) by *Fulvia*, and her own little Daughters, just past their Infancy. Her exemplary Conduct was the Subject of Conversation in all Companies: it filled *Rome* and *Italy* with deserved Admiration, and, very contrary to her Intentions, did infinite Mischief to her deluded Husband. What a Barbarian must he be, said they, — how blind to Beauty and Merit, that can abuse so divine a Creature? He must be quite gone, *it was answered*, sunk in the lowest Dregs of Vice, that can prefer a Prostitute to the Pride of her Sex, the matchless *Octavia*! I scarcely believe that *Antony's* lawless Life had left him any Friend so faithful as to hazard his Displeasure by informing him of the public Odium under which he was fallen. He was surrounded with Flatterers, *Cleopatra's* Creatures, who talked of nothing but his unexhausted Treasures and irresistible Power. Regardless therefore of Infamy at *Rome*, and despising his Brother-in-law, who indeed had no such Body of an Army as his own, he lived in a continued Course of Riot and Profusion. The Queen and he vied together which should lay out most Money on an Entertainment. She pretended to laugh at his Feasts as mean and sordid: and it came to a formal Wager, that on one Dinner she should squander to the Amount of

^{*} See Vol. IV. p. 184.

of near ninety thousand Pounds: nay, to surprize them the more, she would only take till to morrow to provide it: the polite *Plancus*, a great Favorite, who had gone that Year to *Alexandria*, was chosen Judge. She accordingly prepared a royal Dinner indeed, not to lose the Day; but nothing above *Antony's* usual Table, who was in high Spirits, and every now and then asking with a Sneer the Price of the Dishes. The Queen bid him have Patience, for the fixed Sum was to be the Price of her own Desert; and after Supper, it is a known Story, that a second Table was set before her with only a Goblet of Vinegar, when putting up her Hand to her Ear; and taking the Pearl of immense Price that hung in it, she dissolved and drank it up; she was about to do the same to its Fellow, when *Plancus* laid his Hand upon it, and pronounced *Antony* fairly vanquished (which passed for an Omen) and saved the remaining Jewel. These Pearls were reckoned Wonders of Nature, having passed through the Hands of the richest Kings of the East: that preserved by *Plancus* was afterwards cut in two, and served for Pendants to the *Pantheon-Venus*.

By *Antony's* constantly residing in *Egypt*, and the consequent Resort of *Romans* of highest Rank, *Alexandria* was become the Capital of the East. The nearest bordering Kingdom was that of *Judea*, whose Court, partly infected by its splendid Neighbour, and partly by the magnificent Turn of its new King, was become more elegant and gay than ever it had been known. *Herod*,

deservedly called *the Great*, (if Courage and Conduct can justify that Title) was in the Height of Life; his young Queen, the wondrous *Mariamne*, in the full Bloom of her Beauty. The Queen's Mother *Alexandra*, the King's Mother *Cypris*, and his Sister *Salome*, were graceful high-spirited Women. Old *Hircanus* was returned from *Parthia*. His Grand-child by the Mother, and Grand-nephew by the Father, *Aristobulus* (*Mariamne's* Brother) was beyond Dispute the finest Youth of the Age. These royal Persons surrounded with *Herod's* Captains and Ministers, gave his Court an Air of Grandeur that might have adorned a much greater Empire. But this Exterior of Prosperity and Pleasure was not found at Bottom: a Crown has its Thorns, and the regal Purple often covers an aking Heart.

The Queen-Mother *Alexandra*, married to the eldest Son of that *Aristobulus* who was deposed by *Pompey*, and herself of the royal *Asmonean* Line, being *Hircanus's* Daughter, had Ambition equal to her Birth, and above her present Situation. She secretly contemned her Son-in-law *Herod* as of ignoble Blood, and looked on him as the Usurper of the Rights of her Children. She was so unwise as to tincture them with the same Sentiments; and, upon some slight Occasion, when *Salome* the King's Sister was assuming State, *Mariamne* had the Imprudence openly to remind her of her mean Descent. From hence arose, first a spiteful Pique, dashed with mutual Scorn, which grew to a standing Rancor

among the Women; while the King was unhappily placed between the Insinuations and Whispers of his own Kindred, — the Complaints of *Alexandra*, and the Murmurings of his haughty Queen. Royalty is suspicious; — and a recent Settlement, apprehensive of every Gust that might overturn it. *Herod* privately placed Spies over his Mother-in-law and her Son, to observe their smallest Motions, and acquaint him with what they were daily doing. The sagacious Princess soon perceived it, and made proportionable Returns of Hatred: uneasy and restless; under such Restraint, she ventured to touch a ticklish String, and complain of the unworthy Usage she received at *Herod's* Hands to *Cleopatra*, his known and powerful Enemy. He held his Crown solely by *Antony's* Favor, whose Lieutenant-General, *C. Sossius*, had reduced *Jerusalem*, and in Consequence of his Victory had, by *Antony's* Permission, led a Triumph over *Judea* in DCCXVII. *Antony* was wholly under the Influence of a Woman, who coveted *Herod's* Kingdom, and longed for an Opportunity to destroy him. The complaining to *Her* was therefore touching the King in the tenderest Part, as it tended to sap the immediate Foundation of his Throne: he resented it, — as we may suppose; but checked the natural Violence of his Temper; and both not to exasperate Matters, and from Love to *Mariamne*, prudently stifled his Vengeance against the Mother.

It so happened, towards the End of this inactive

Summer', that *Dellius's* Affairs called him into *Judea*, where he was welcomed by *Herod* as the great Friend of his Master, and treated with surprising Magnificence. But *Dellius's* predomining Passion, the Love of Pleasure, fixed his whole Attention upon *Alexandra's* two Children, *Aristobulus* and *Mariamne*, whom he considered as Master-pieces of Nature. He entered into the Familiarity and Confidence of the Queen-Mother, the Fountain of so much Beauty, — listened to her Complaints of hard Usage from the King; and did not depart from his own Character or Practice', in directing her to have Pictures drawn of the young Prince and his Sister, and to send them by himself to the *Triumvir*, who after he had seen them, would be able to refuse her nothing. This was done; and *Dellius*, in presenting the Portraits of the matchless Pair, failed not to expatiate upon their Perfections: 'they did not seem, he said, to be of mortal Race, but looked like the Offspring of Heaven, — the Children of some Demi-god or Hero;' — and ran on in Raptures, wanting to entangle his Master in a Pursuit of new Pleasure. Though *Antony* was not averse to a Love-Affair of any Sort, he did not care impudently to command *Herod* to send him his new-married Wife; but he wrote for her Brother; desiring, if it were not inconvenient, to send the Youth under a proper Escort to *Alexandria*.

' A. U. C. DCCXVIII.

2 Κυίντων Δέλλιον, Παιδικὰ ποτὲ Ἀγῶνις γενόμενον, Διων. μ. 9.

This Desire , importing a Command , filled *Herod* with much Perplexity : the Triumvir was all - powerful — easily captivated , and openly abused his Authority to satiate his shameful Passions : *Herod* , at last , determined *not* to obey , nor venture a Youth royally descended , in the very Bloom of Life (just turned seventeen) in the Hands of so dissolute a Man ; and therefore returned this Answer ; ‘ that such was the seditious Temper of the *Jewish* Nation , and so great their Propensity to *Change* , that the whole Country would fall into Confusion if *Aristobulus* should but set his Foot out of the Kingdom.’ After this , the Spies set upon the Queen - Mother were doubled , and the Guards enjoined to keep so strict a Watch , that it was difficult for her to send any Letter or Message unknown to the King : but as Necessity is inventive , a *Musician* was found , who undertook to convey her Letters to her new Protectress , *Cleopatra* : by his Means she bewailed her unhappy Situation , — ‘ that she was nothing better than a Prisoner of State , confined with her hapless Son to the Palace , not daring to see Company , nor allowed to keep a Servant of their own chusing ; and not only their Actions , but every Word and Look watched and reported to their haughty Master.’

In this Distress , *Cleopatra* advised her to take her Son , and , if possible , make her Escape with him from *Judea* to *Egypt* , where she should find an *Asylum* in her Palace , and powerful Protectors

in *herself* and in *Antony*. Immediately a Plot was laid for the Evasion of the Queen-Mother and of the young Prince: they were to be laid in *two Coffins*, and carried out of Town as dead Persons by their conscious Servants. Horses stood ready at the Gates to convey them to the nearest Shore, where a Ship waited to waft them to *Alexandria*. The Design was only intrusted to a few faithful Domestics, one of whom *Efop*, took aside a known Confident of the Queen-Mother, by name *Sabbio*, and talked of the Affair to him as no Doubt privy to the Plot. *Sabbio* was suspected to have dipt a little in the Conspiracy against the brave *Antipater*, *Herod's* Father, who was poisoned by *Malichus*, and was in suitable Disgrace with the Son. But now he fondly embraced so fair an Opportunity of recovering the royal Favor, and going directly to the King, informed him of his Mother-in-law's intended Elopement to *Cleopatra*. *Herod* permitted the royal Persons to be decently laid in their Coffins — brought down Stairs, and carried through the Court-yard: but at the Palace-gate the Biers were stopped by the King's Officers; the Mother and Son taken out of their Cases, and brought gently back to their former Apartments. The Rage, the Shame, the Torture of Mind that seized the violent *Alexandra*, will not be easily imagined: — as for *Herod*, though infinitely provoked, and no less desirous to chastise so heinous an Attempt, he put on an Air of Magnanimity and Mildness, and treated the whole Adventure as the Freak of a

restless Female ; while in Reality a Dread of *Cleopatra*, the chief Accomplice, bound up his Hands from punishing her Correspondent.

But these repeated Efforts of the ambitious Mother were productive of dismal Consequences. The new King of *Judea* could not think that he sat firm on his Throne, while *Aristobulus* the Heir of the *Asmonean Line* continued in Life; and therefore with equal Cunning and Cruelty, created him first *High-Priest*, to disguise his Intentions, and then took Care to have him suffocated under Water by some of his *French Guards*, in a Pond where he had been enticed to swim*.

No Tears which *Herod* could shed (as he is said to have wept plentifully at the News), nor the astonishing Pomp and Expence which he displayed at the Funeral, could blind *Alexandra*, or hinder her from perceiving *the Hand* that dealt this mortal Blow in the Dark. She was forced, however, to lock up her Indignation, and put on the Appearance of silent Sorrow; but in the Bitterness of her Soul, she wrote the mournful Tale, and, by her trusty Musician, conveyed it to *Cleopatra*. The *Egyptian Princess*, glad of any Opportunity to ruin *Herod*, undertook this Cause with the same Ardor as if it had been her own: she gave her Lover no Rest; but was perpetually pressing him to *avenge the Death of a royal Youth*,

* Πέμπεται μὲν ὃν ὁ παῖς διὰ νυκτός ἐς Ἱερὴν ἐκεῖ δὲ κατ' ἐβολὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλάτων βαπτιζόμενος ἐν κολυμβήθρᾳ τελευτᾷ.

Ιωσ. αλ. α.

on an ingrateful Traitor, who possessed the Throne belonging by Right to the unhappy Prince he had basely murdered. By continually urging him, and exaggerating the Indignity of the Deed, Antony was at last so far impressed, that, being a third Time on his Way to Armenia, he sent a Summons to Herod to attend him in Laodicea, in Order to clear himself of the Murder of Aristobulus, which was laid to his Charge. I suppose Antony chose to come with the Queen by Sea from Alexandria, to save a toilsome March through the Desert; and pitched upon Laodicea as a Landing-place, both for its excellent Harbour, and the delicious Wines produced on the Skirts of Mount - Casi^o, to which he was excessively addicted.

^o The vast Mountain that rises gently from Laodicea, by an Ascent of XIX Miles, to where it overhangs Apamea in towering Rocks that have given Occasion to its Name *Κασι* Casa, which in Syriac signifies Hard.

It must not be confounded with a sandy Promontory of the same Name *Λόφος Σινωδὸς ἀπορρηξάων* the Boundary of Egypt. of which Lucan speaks, describing the Morning when Achillas intended to kill Julius Caesar (a) and where stood the Monument of human Instability, the Tomb of Pompey the Great. This last could scarce be denominated from Casa, Hard, which it was not; but has probably been so called from *Κασι* Kazzi, a Boundary, which it was, between Egypt and Idumea.

(a) *Lucifer a Casa prospexit* Rupe.]

An Army coming to invade *Judea* would have carried less Terror than this Summons: however, as there was no Choice but to obey, *Herod* having put his young Queen and the Kingdom under the Tuition of his Uncle *Joseph*, with the terrible Command (the Effect of Love in its worst Shape) immediately to strike off *Mariamne's* Head, if he himself should fall a Sacrifice to *Cleopatra*, he ventured on the dreadful Journey. No Height of Passion can justify the inhuman Order left by *Herod*; but *Antony's* wild Character was the immediate Cause of it. The King, who knew that he had been informed of *Mariamne's* transcendant Beauty by *Dellius*, and that he had been struck with her Picture, made no Doubt, if he were dead himself, but she would fall a Prey to the Triumvir's Lewdness; of which he could not bear the Thought. At his Arrival, he found *Cleopatra* was to attend the Roman General quite through *Syria*, and forboded no good from her Company. Indeed she did her utmost to irritate *Antony*, and procure the King's Destruction. But *Herod's* own Presence and princely Behaviour, the magnificent Presents he brought from *Jerusalem*, and the specious Footing upon which he put his Conduct, blunted the Edge of her Malice, and secured to him at this Time both his Life and Crown. 'It did not become, he said, so great a Man as *Marc Antony*, who bestowed Kingdoms at his Pleasure, to invest any Person with Royal Power, and then find Fault with him for using it — better, in that Case, not to have made him

‘ a King *in Name*, while in Reality a Subject; —
 ‘ but as he had deemed him worthy to wear a
 ‘ Crown, and intrusted him with the regal Au-
 ‘ thority, he should permit him to exercise it as the
 ‘ Exigencies of his Government required: that the
 ‘ same Maxim would hold with respect to *all* the
 ‘ other Princes, *Allies* of the *Romans*; since it was
 ‘ not even *Cleopatra’s* Interest to have her Admi-
 ‘ nistration too narrowly canvassed, nor be obliged
 ‘ to give other Account of her Actions than —
 ‘ *Reasons of State.*’

Antony long ago prepossessed in *Herod’s* Favor, allowed of his Defence; — he embraced him as his Friend — made him sit on his Tribunal as an Assessor in Judgment — had him every Day at Dinner, and at all Parties of Pleasure at Night, till he retired late to the Queen. — so that the King returned to *Jerusalem* with Increase of Honor, and with better founded Hopes of possessing his Kingdom, even in Spite of the grasping *Cleopatra*. To counter-balance this Contentment, he found at his Return his Court and Family in the utmost Disorder. The Ladies left under his Uncle *Joseph’s* management, had proved too cunning for their Guardian: *Mariamne*, spirited up by her artful Mother, had, by the most winning Behaviour, gained the good Man’s heart, and then, by an affected Disbelief of *Herod’s* Love, and a Strain of female Banter (says my Author ²) had drawn

² Εξειρωνευομένων δὲ Γυναικεῖως τῆς λόγος, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Αλεξάνδρας — προήχθη Ἰώσηπος καὶ γὰρ περὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν ἐξαπεῖν.

from him the dreadful Secret — the bloody Order that was to be executed in Case of *Herod's* Death. It had *two* Sides, and would be viewed by the Queen and her Mother only on the worst: wherefore, upon flying Report's being spread in Town of *Herod's* Condemnation at *Laodicea*, they had over-persuaded their simple Keeper to leave the Palace, and fly with them to the Roman Legion that guarded it. They were actually on the Point of executing a Resolution, which would have set all *Jerusalem* in an Uproar, when Letters arrived from *Herod*, informing them of the Honors he had received from *Antony*, and the consequent Security of his Crown. This stopt their Career: but he was no sooner come home, than his Mother *Cypris* took Care to inform him of *Alexandra's* Contrivance to abandon his Royal Palace, and put herself and her Daughter under the Protection of *Julius* the commanding Tribune; and his resentful Sister, *Salome*, eclipsed and scorned by *Mariamne*, wickedly accused her own Husband *Joseph* of criminal Conversation with the Queen.

Herod was doubly startled — a Storm of jarring Passions arose in his Breast — which his Love to *Mariamne* would have at last surmounted, if in one of the *Paroxysms* of that Passion she had not haughtily reproached him with the barbarous Order left to kill her. It was then he fell into the most violent Rage — he stamped and roared, and rolled himself on the Ground, tearing his Hair in inexpressible Agony. He took *Joseph's* betraying

the terrible Secret as undoubted Evidence of a criminal Familiarity; and without farther Proof, or so much as *seeing* the unhappy Man, he commanded him to be instantly led to Execution — *Alexandra* was put in Chains; and with a *hard* Struggle he restrained himself from passing the fatal Sentence upon his loved *Mariamne*. These violent Fits do Mischief only, like a Hurricane, in the Heat of their Fury: they subside on the shortest Delay, and the contrary Affections resume their Power. I am however apt to think that *Cleopatra's* Arrival in *Judea* soon after this, might contribute to compose these Distractions at Court, and assist the King to curb his Resentments against *Alexandra*.

In her Progress with *Antony* towards the *Euphrates*, already mentioned, she had put all *Syria* in Disorder. With equal Art and Malice, she had patched up Accusations against the little Princes and States, that when they were dead or deprived, she might obtain their Dominions in a Gift from her Lover. Thus, besides the vast Donations which I formerly enumerated, she persuaded him to kill *Lyfanius* Prince of *Chalcidene*, under Mount *Libanus*^a, as if he had been in League with the *Parthians*, and then received his Dominion, as an Addition to her Syrian Territories,

^a *Lebanon*, or, as the *Greeks* altered it, *Libanus*, signifies the *White Mountain*, from [27] *Laban albus*, as it was always covered with Snows, which even in Summer were carried down to *Tyre* for Sale.

which (excepting the free Cities, *Aradus*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*) comprehended the whole Country from the *Euphrates* to the *Eleutherus* (now the *Velana*) the River that divides *Phenicia* from *Celesyria*, and empties itself a little above *Tripoli* into the *Mediterranean* Sea.

After taking Leave of her Roman Lover, she made a Tour through *Syria* to visit her new Acquisitions; and having taken Possession of the delightful Cities of *Apamea* and *Damascus*, she took *Judea* in her Way to *Egypt*, where she, who had the Life and Death of thousands in her Power, was little aware of the Risque she ran of her own. As a great Queen, and Mistress of the Lord of the East, she looked down upon the petty Princes, his Vassals; and though she must needs be sensible that *Herod* knew her Malice and Treachery, she fearless entered his Dominions like his Sovereign; nor did he fail to receive her Majesty with great Submission and Magnificence. She was a strange unaccountable Woman. Could it be believed, that on the Footing she stood with *Antony* and with *Herod*, she should have thought of a *Love-affair* with the latter? and yet it is certain, that in his own Court she made open and undisguised Proposals to the King of *Judea*; — whether from a mere loose Inclination for so graceful a Man, or with an Intention to draw him into a Snare, and effectually ruin him with *Antony*. But instead of answering her Passion (if she had one) *Herod* called his most intimate Friends together, and with them entered into deep Consultation, *Whether having Cleopatra in*

his Power, he should not improve the favorable Moment, and do all Mankind, and even Antony himself, a Service, by putting such a public Pest privately to Death? His own Interest and Revenge strongly inclined him to the Affirmative; but his Privy Council, of a very different Opinion, represented to him with great Earnestness, ‘ that
‘ in his present favorable Situation, it would be
‘ very unwise to expose himself and his Kingdom
‘ to imminent Danger, — that *Antony* would
‘ never bear it, were the Advantages of it set
‘ ever so plain before his Eyes: that the Indignity
‘ of losing his loved *Cleopatra* by Murder and
‘ Treachery would inflame his Passion to such a
‘ Height, that nothing which *Herod* could offer
‘ as an Apology would appear tolerable: — the
‘ Attempt being made upon a Queen of the highest
‘ Rank and Dignity of her Time; and the Arrogance and Presumption of it being more than
‘ sufficient to efface any Advantage that could be
‘ reaped by her Death — especially as it was in
‘ his Power gently to avoid the Snare which the
‘ Traitors laid for him, and instead of bringing
‘ inevitable Ruin on himself and his Family, to
‘ put a decent Face on the Matter, and send
‘ the Woman away honorably to *Egypt*.’ *Herod* was convinced; and in Lieu of the intended Prison and Assassin, he made her sumptuous Presents, and conducted her to *Damietta*, the ancient *Pelusium* and Frontier of *Egypt* on the Side of *Judea*.

Antony in the mean Time having gone up to *Armenia*, and decoyed their treacherous King, as

was formerly related, was not for all that immediately Master of the Country.

The *Armenians*, while their King was Prisoner, took his Son *Artaxias*, and put the Crown upon his Head, that they might act under the Royal Authority; nor did the Youth, though scarce seventeen, belie their Hopes: he marched at their Head—faced the *Roman* Army, and actually joined Battle. But being beaten, as might be expected, he fled to *Parthia*; and then *Antony* in Conjunction with his new Ally, ravaged *Armenia* at his Leisure. In vain did the *Median* Prince represent to him the distracted State of their most powerful Enemy; he would give himself and his Army no Trouble in a fresh Invasion of *Parthia*, and *Phraates'* Apprehensions at the Approach of the Legions were disappointed to the better: It appeared that the sole Purpose of the Expedition had been to plunder *Armenia*, and hurry home with the Spoils to *Cleopatra*.

I know nothing in ancient History so like the Feats performed by *Knights-errant*³, as *Antony's* Behaviour at his Return. He entered *Alexandria* (as he should have done *Rome*) in a triumphal Chariot, with the King and Queen of *Armenia*.

³ Como el famoso *Esplandian* mandò à los que avia librados, que fuesen à Constantinopola, agradecer à la hermosa *Leonorina* hija del Emperador, la merced de su Libertad. *Amadis de Gaula* (the Standard of Romances) Liv. v. ch. 25. parodied by *Cervantes*, Lib. iii. cap. 22. of *Don Quixotte*.

and their younger Children bound in silver-Chains. Soon after a grand Theatre was raised, and a Throne of Gold was set upon a Base overlaid with Silver for *Cleopatra*. When she was placed, the King of *Armenia* and the royal Family were brought forth, and ordered to pay their humble Obeisance to her Majesty, with many promises if they complied, and Threats if they refused; neither of which produced any Effect: the King and his Consort would not debase themselves: they *did* address the Queen, but called her plain *Cleopatra*, without deigning to make Submissions, or implore her Favor: a Deportment which gained the Esteem and Condolence of the Public to these royal Personages, and procured them much harsh Usage from their Keepers.

But his *Egyptian* Mistress, not satisfied with this Piece of Pageantry, persuaded him soon after to a more substantial Display of his Passion and her Power. Since their Commerce began, which was almost eight Years, *Cleopatra* had bore three Children, two Sons and a Daughter, whom *Antony* believed to be his own. Though both he and she trampled upon all Laws, yet they so far complied with Custom, or perhaps with the Pattern set by *Julius Cæsar*, as not to give their Children *Roman* Names, but called them, as illegitimate, by the *Mother's* Family. For *Cæsar* had not allowed his natural Son by the Queen, now about fourteen Years of Age, to be named *Julius*, but with a Greek termination, formed from his Surname, he was called *Ptolomy-Cæsario*:
much

much in the same Way, *Antony* gave his Twins the Names of *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra*, along with the romantic Appellations of the *Sun* and the *Moon* bestowed upon them, in Imitation of *Isis* and *Osiris* the Egyptian Gods: their younger Brother was called *Alexander*—all three by the Names common to the *Lagean* Family.

To do Honor to these Youths, and exalt their Mother above the Rest of Womankind, a high *Festival* was proclaimed at *Alexandria*; a second Theatre was erected in the Midst of the *Forum*, adorned with amazing Magnificence. Lofty Thrones were set under Canopies of the richest Workmanship for *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and on either Hand, Chairs a little lower for the Queen's four Children. Hither the royal Company proceeded in solemn Pomp from the Palace, and when they were set, it is strange to tell, that *M. Antony*, one of the three Men appointed to settle the Roman State, rose up and made a Speech to the *Egyptians*, as if he had been in the *Capitol*. The chief Import of it was to persuade them, that *Cleopatra* had been *Julius Cæsar's* lawful Wife, and that *Ptolomy-Cæsario* was his legitimate Son and rightful Heir, in Opposition no Doubt, to an adopted Stranger whom he did not name. Then turning to *Cleopatra*, he saluted her *Queen of Kings*, and her eldest Son *Cæsario*, *King of Kings*; assigning to them at the same Time *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and the ancient Domaine of the *Lagean* Race: As for his own Children by the Queen, he

proclaimed *Ptolomy* King of *Syria* and *Asia*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellepont*; *Cleopatra* was to have the Kingdom of *Cyrene* in *Africa* for her Dowry, and their Brother, *Alexander*, was by Way of Anticipation, declared King of *Armenia* and *Parthia*, all the Way to the *Indies*, against these Countries should be conquered by his Parent. Not a Word of his children in *Rome*, his two Sons by *Fulvia*, and two Daughters by *Octavia*, who by this Deed were in a Manner disinherited, and cut off from their paternal Succession. Nor was he contented with acting this pompous Farce at *Alexandria*, but was so intoxicated with Power and Pleasure, as to transmit an authentic Copy of this his Settlement of the *Eastern-Empire* to *Rome*, that it might there be ratified by a Decree of the *Senate* and a Vote of the *People*.

It is true *Domitius* and *Pollio*, *Capito* and *Cocceius*, were too wise not to suppress it, and would never allow it to be produced in any Court; but being publicly known, and industriously spread by *Cæsar's* Friends, it effectually co-operated with his *Armenian*, or rather *Egyptian* Triumph, and Contempt of *Octavia*, to ruin his Interest in *Rome*, and persuade the Citizens that he was no longer a *Roman* in his Heart, but become such a Barbarian and lawless Tyrant as they fancied the greater Part of Kings to be, and particularly the Kings of the East^{*}.

^{*} When some People were commending *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, as a good Man, and a Friend to

The *Commons* especially, always fond of Shows, took particular Offence at his triumphing in *Alexandria*; and carrying the Spoils and Honors purchased by *Roman Blood*, and due to the *Capital* of the Empire, among a motly Multitude, the Ofscourings of *Egypt* and *Greece*. They even believed a Report, which his Colleague did not discountenance, That *Cleopatra* had employed *Sorcery* to make him so much her Slave; and that, by Means of some magic Spell or poisonous Draught, she had, as the Vulgar say, bewitched him; by which they meant, that she had depraved his Understanding, and robbed him of the Use of the high Faculties with which he was born.

I am apt to believe, that this *Witchcraft* was nothing else than the gradual Effect of a long Course of Debauchery, to which he was more and more addicted: a Head over-heated every Night with Wine, turns lumpish and dull—It loses the *finer Percetpions*, and the *Relish* of elegant Pleasure; retaining only that of the grossest Gratifications. The Opinion, however, that *Antony* was bewitched, generally prevailed. The great *Lucullus*, they knew, had died of a *Philtre* or Love-potion administered by a jealous Mistress; as did *Lucretius* the admired Poet, in the flower

the Romans, *Perhaps he is so*, said old *Cato*: but by Nature that Animal they call a King is a carnivorous Creature. φύσει μὲν τῷτο τὸ ζῷον ὁ βασιλεὺς, σαρκοφάγον ἐστίν.

Πλουτάρχ., μ. Κρίτων.

of Life. *Caligula's* Madness was afterwards ascribed to the same Sort of Draught; as indeed the mystic Liquor of *Eleusinian Ceres*⁵, and the dreadful Cup given to dangerous Noblemen in the *Mogol's Court*⁶, leave no Doubt of the Power of *Potions* over the human Constitution. *Antony* was therefore believed at *Rome* to be no more himself; but a Sort of animal Machine, acting by the sole Will of *Cleopatra*; a Belief which mixed *Contempt* with the Hatred of his other Vices, and was a poisonous Ingredient, — of the worst Consequence to a Man in Power.

After passing the Winter in Revelling and Riot, he went up in the Spring, for the last Time, to finish the plundering of *Armenia* in Reality; but gave it out that he was now to attack *Parthia* in Conjunction with his *Median Ally*. What he might have attempted, had he been free from other Cares, is uncertain; for a Man given up to his Passions, like a fluctuated Body, knows not whither they will drive him: but he soon received News from *Rome* that called him to act on a different Scene. From the Time of his sending back *Octavia* with Dishonor and Neglect, *Cæsar* perceived there was no more Confidence to be put in his Colleague, and that a final Breach was inevi-

⁵ Κυκεών. Ὁρᾷ Κλημ. Στρωμ. ιδ.

⁶ M. Bernier Hist de la Cour du Grand Mogol.

table. But knowing *Antony's* Weight in the *Senate*, and especially his Root with the *Soldiery*, he was cautious how he came to an open Rupture; but cast about how he might plausibly throw the Blame of their Dissension upon *Antony*, and secure Power and Popularity to himself. He therefore lost no Opportunities to exaggerate his *Encroachments* upon their common Prerogative; and, their Correspondence not being yet broke off, he both wrote his Complaints, and fully instructed his Ministers, whom he sent on Purpose to *Alexandria*. Thus the Disgusts hung for some Time, like a gathering Cloud, before they burst into a Storm; and were managed like a civil Difference between Citizens, by Memorials and Rescripts passing backwards and forwards, which came at last to be made public, and submitted to the Judgment of the People.

I know of no Offence or Accident that was the immediate Cause of the War⁷. The Characters of the Leaders, their Fortunes and Situation sufficiently account for it. *Antony* was haughty and overbearing; a heavy Partner in the Division of Power, and carried Things with so high a Hand, that *Cæsar* must have been long

⁷ The *Duke de la Rochefoucault*, among his other Paradoxes, affirms, that the *Actian War*, which turned the World upside down, was the Effect of Jealousy about a *Mistress*; for which Assertion, after the utmost Pains, I can find no Foundation in History.

since weary of him, and grasp greedily at an Opportunity of getting rid of him. *Antony*, on his Part, had given him many Handles: he was doubly drunk with Wine and Power; and fell into all the Enormities which attend that Vice in a leading Man strictly watched by a sober and subtle Rival.—He committed unheard of Disorders, disobliged his best Friends, and squandered his immense Revenue with amazing Profusion: for he was capable of any Excess in his Liquor; and often treated the greatest *Romans* with cruel and wanton Insolence. This, co-operating with his blind Passion for the rapacious Queen, cut the *Sinews* of his Power, and paved the Way for his final Ruin: for he came at last to place his Pride in being a *strong Drinker*: and so far forgot himself as even to write a *Panegyric* upon *Ebriety*, in which he enumerated the *Feats* that Liquor had enabled him to perform. It has been published I judge not long before the decisive Stroke was to be struck between him and his Adversary, and by showing while he was revelling in *Greece* that his Head was turned, and his Heart corrupted, he disposed Men to believe the black Stories which *Cæsar's* Friends were propagating with great Industry *. He had long allowed the frothy

* *M. Antonius avidissimè apprehenderat hanc palmam (Ebrietatis) edito etiam volumine de sua Ebrietate; quo patrocinari sibi ausus, approbavit planè, ut equidem arbitror, quanta mala per temulentiam terrarum orbi intus-*

Asiatics to call him *Father Bacchus*; but it is certain that he now actually assumed the *Habit* and *Ensigns* of the God of Wine; and rode through the Streets of *Alexandria* in an open Chariot drawn by *Tigers*, his Head crowned with *Ivy*, his Feet dressed in *Buskins*, and holding a *Thyrus* (a Spear twisted round with Vine-Twigs) in his Hand. At other Times he appeared in the Dress of an *Eastern Monarch*, holding his golden Sceptre, a Sabre by his Side, and clothed in a Robe of regal Purple clasped with costly Gems; and at last he clapt a *Diadem* on his Head, that *Cleopatra* might be kissed by a *King*.

When two Princes, from Pique or Interest, are once determined to break, *Reasons* are fought by Way of *Parade*; and generally meet with the Disregard they deserve. The Oracle uttered by the presaging Spirit of *Marcus Brutus*, (enlightened by calm Virtue even in the Plains of *Philippi*), was now accomplishing, 'that the same
' flagitious Passions which had driven *Antony* and
' *Cæsar* to destroy the Constitution of their Coun-
' try, would soon after set them at Variance between
' themselves, and make them more bitter Enemies to
' one another than they had been to the Friends

lisset: exiguo tempore ante prælium Actiacum id volumen evomuit; quo facile intelligatur ebrius jam sanguine civium, & tanto magis eum ficiens; namque & hæc necessitas vitium comitatur, ut bibendi consuetudo augeat aviditatem. *Plin. Lib. XIV. § 22.*

of Liberty and the Common-wealth⁹. It is proper, however, that we know the *Plea* of either Party, and what Violations of Faith or Breaches of Friendship each laid to the Charge of the other.

And first *Antony*, as is the Custom of Aggressors, complained, ' that in the Division of *Italy* among the Veterans, *Cæsar* had defrauded *his* Army of their due Share, and filled it with his own Troops. II. " That having driven *Sextus Pompey* out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, he had seized these Islands as his own Property. III. That having of his own Authority, without Consent of his Colleague, divested *Lepidus* of the triumviral Power, he had sent *Statilius Taurus* into *Africa* to take Possession of his Armies and Provinces without sharing them with *him* who had an equal Title to both. IV. That in the disastrous War, which he had long unfortunately waged with *Sextus Pompey*, he had borrowed of him (*Antony*) several Squadrons of Ships for which he had never thought fit either to account, or to restore." He therefore demanded Satisfaction in all these Points, — the Establishment of his defrauded Veterans, the Half of *Africa*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, an Equivalent for his Ships of War, and the Half of the Legions which *Cæsar* had lately raised

⁹ Μ. Αντώνιος — προσθήκην ἑαυτὸν Ὀκτώβριω δέδωκεν· κ' ἂν μὴ νῦν ἠτληθῇ μετ' ἐκείνου, μικρὸν ὑπερον ἐκείνῳ μαχεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν ἔνθα καλῶς ἀποδεσπύσαι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἔοικεν ὁ Βρούτος. Πλούταρχ.

in *Italy*, which, by Agreement, was to remain the common *Recruiting-country*, for them both.

To the first of these Articles, *Cæsar*, provoked by the Contempt lately put upon his Sister, answered jeeringly, ' That the Veterans whom *Antony* had called and kept in the *East*, could not be settled in *Italy*; nor was there any Reason they should, as they had *Media* and *Parthia*, and the other Countries they had conquered by their Prowess under so mighty a Leader, which were more than sufficient to contain them. To the second and third, That having defeated *Sextus Pompey* in fair War, and stripped *Lepidus* of a Command he was abusing with Insolence, *Cæsar* possessed their Provinces in Right of Conquest, which yet he was ready to divide with *Antony*, as soon as he, on his Part, had shared his new Acquisitions of *Egypt* and *Armenia* with him. To the last, That he had sent back no less than seventy of his borrowed Ships, who had landed most opportunely at *Proconnesus* (now *Marmara*) or his Lieutenant *Titius* to catch *S. Pompey*, and cut off his Head: that it was *Antony's* own Fault if he did not recruit in *Italy*, which lay alike open to them both, and from whence he (*Cæsar*) had often sent him greater Bodies of Men and of warlike Stores than were sufficient to over-balance those Ships that had perished in the *Sicilian War*.

The Distance between the Places of Residence of the two remaining Triumvirs, and their

leading out their Armies, after the *Roman* Manner, to some Expedition in the Spring, prevented *Cæsar's* last Answer from reaching *Antony* till near Mid-summer, when he had got upon the Banks of the *Araxes*, and was about to invade *Parthia*, with his new Ally the King of the *Medes*: and as its *Tendency* was very plain, he immediately countermanded the Movement of the Army, and ordered *Canidius Gallus* his Lieutenant General, to take sixteen Legions, (about eighty thousand men) and facing about, to march directly down through *Asia* to the Sea-Coast.—The Invasion of *Parthia* was once more laid aside: he contented himself with exchanging some *legionary* Soldiers, for a Body of *Median* Horse from *Artuafdes*—he added the *lesser Armenia* to *Polemo's* Dominion, as a Reward for *past*, and Incitement to *future* Services; and then having, as I said, received the young Beauty, *Jotape*, from her Father, his Son *Alexander's* future Spouse, *Antony* hastened after his great Army that was marching under *Canidius*.

To give his Conduct an Air of Moderation at *Rome*, and add Weight to his Complaints against *Cæsar*, he had subjoined to them a formal Declaration, *That as the last five Years of their Triumvirate were about to expire, he was ready to lay down that extraordinary Power, to restore the Government to the Senate and People of Rome, and betake himself to the legal Honors of his Country, if his Colleague Cæsar would do the same.* This Declaration cost him nothing, while he

was at the Head of his Armies in distant Provinces — no more than the Formality of entering upon the *Consulship* the first Day of the Year DCCXIX, and immediately resigning it in Favor of his Friend *Sempronius Atratinus*. But *Cæsar* who was at *Rome*, could not make the same Declaration without *actually* disarming, or appearing to *mock* the Senate: all he could do was, to imitate the *second* Part of the Farce, (for it was no better) and profess himself a Candidate for a *legal Magistracy*. Accordingly the first Day of DCCXX, he was formally chosen *Consul*, assumed the twelve Bundles of Rods and Axes, proceeded in State to do Sacrifice in the *Capitol*, with his obscure Colleague *Volcatius Tullus*, an old Soldier of *Julius Cæsar*; and after sitting an Hour or so, in the *Curule Chair*, he abdicated his high Office, which was exercised by *L. Autronius Petus* for the first Part of the current Year.

The Apprehensions of an approaching Rupture with his lawless Colleague naturally produced two Effects: they made him take every Method he could devise to gain the Affections of the Senators, and the general Good-will of the *Roman* People; but they turned his chief Attention upon the Army; and to increase and exercise his Troops, was the grand Concern of the present Conjunction. He again marched in Person into *Dalmatia*, now a known Country, almost wholly subdued, but so rough and impracticable, that the few remaining unconquered Tribes rendered it a good *School of War*, for hardening the

new-raised Legions¹. In the End of the former Campaign, he had laid Siege to a strong Place, *Setovia*, which a great Body of the Natives came to relieve. They attempted to force their Way through the *Roman Works* into the Town, and it cost an obstinate Struggle to repel them: *Cæsar*, doing his Duty as a General and a Soldier, received such a Stroke with a Stone on his right Knee, as confined him to his Bed for many Days, and made him leave his second General *Statilius Taurus* to carry on the War. *Taurus* took the sure but slow Method of *starving* the *Setovians* into a Surrender: they held out till the Beginning of the Spring, when *Cæsar*, after resigning his Consulship of two Hours, returned in Haste to *Dalmatia* to finish the Conquest. The *Setovians*, hemmed in by a Chain of Winter - Encampments, (which resembled small fortified Towns, and cut off all Communication with the neighbouring Country) were pressed with Famine, and glad to submit to *Cæsar* in Person. He had the Honor to recover the *Roman* Ensigns lost with *Gabinus*, and to receive seven hundred of their noblest Youths, as Hostages of the future Fidelity of their Parents². After

¹ Interim *Cæsar*, ne res disciplinæ inimicissima, *Otium*, corrumpet militem, crebris in *Illyrico Dalmatiaque* expeditionibus, patientiâ periculorum, bellique experienciâ durabat exercitum.

Vell. P. Lib. II.

² Ἀποσπασμαὶ Ἰλλυρικῶν.

the true Glory which he had gained in conquering so wide and warlike a Country as *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* and *Illyricum*, inhabited by fierce hostile Nations, almost bordering with *Italy*, *Cæsar* might have justly entered *Rome* on a triumphal Char: nor were the Senators slow in voting that Honor to him, which they had allowed to his Lieutenants the former Year. Old *Norbanus*, who commanded at *Philippi*, had triumphed from *Spain*, where he had been *Proconsul*; and the rising Officer (of no Family, but great personal Merit) *Statilius Taurus*, having been dispatched, as was told, in the same Capacity to *Africa*, after the Deposition of the insignificant *Lepidus*, took Possession of it in *Cæsar's* Name without coming to Blows, and led a bloodless Triumph out of that ravaged Country, at the same Time that *C. Sossius* had solemnized his Conquest of *Judea*³. But *Cæsar's* Thoughts were turned upon more important Matters than *Show* and *Parade*. — He wisely postponed his *Illyrian* Triumph — all he did in that Way was, from his Share of the Spoils of the conquered Towns⁴ to rear a noble and lasting Monument of his Magnificence; it was a *Quadruple Colonnade*, including an oblong Square, consisting of a double Tire of stately Pillars, whose Interstices were adorned with Statues and Pictures done by the greatest *Grecian Masters*⁵.

³ *Tabula Capitolina.*

⁴ *De Manubiis.*

⁵ Its vast Extent appears in an anonymous Description

It was quite *open* below, which gave it the Name of a *Portico*, — but the *Vase* above contained a large and curious Library, with retiring Rooms for private reading, — public Halls for reciting, — Schools for teaching, and all the Conveniences and Allurements to Study, each of them more elegantly fitted up than another. I have not been able to satisfy myself as to the exact Dimensions of this prodigious Edifice; but it will assist us to form an *Idea* of its Grandeur, if we figure to ourselves *six stately* Buildings standing in the *Area* of it, (three of a-side) Temples, Courts, common Halls, all adorned with Paintings like the *Portico* itself: between these, and

of the *Ruins of Rome*, written in the XI century, and published by the learned *Mabillon*, Tom. iv. p. 502. of his *Analec̃ta*. *Bufalini* and *Bellori* imagine *Juno's* Temple to be now the Church of *Sancta Galla*, and *St. Nicholas* to have occupied the Temple of *Jupiter*, both within the *Portico*.

* *Roma* opera *Cephissodori* (filii *Praxitelis*) sunt *Latona* in *Palatii* delubro: *Venus*, in *Asinii Pollionis* monumentis; & intra *Octaviæ* Porticus, in *Junonis Æde*, *Æsculapius* & *Diana* — Similiter in *Curia Octaviæ*, quæritur de *Cupidine* fulmen tenente. — Nec *Sauron* atque *Batarchon* obliterari convenit, qui fecere *Templa Octaviæ* Porticibus inclusa, natione ipsi *Lacones*. — ad *Octaviæ* vero Porticum *Apollo Philisci Rhodii* (laudatur) in delubro suo. Ejusdem *Praxitelis* est & *Cupido* objectus a *Cicerone Verri*, ille propter quem *Thespiæ* visebantur, nunc in *Octaviæ Scholis* positus.

C. *Plin.* Lib. xxxvi. cap. v.

quite around, were practised lovely Walks, some under Cover, some in the Sun, others in the Shade, according as the Seasons of the Year required. To do Honor to his deserving Sister *Octavia*, — to comfort her under unmerited Injuries, and perhaps to spite her infatuated Husband, he called it from *her* Name, the *Octavian Portico*: here, among the other Decorations, he hung up the *Ensigns of the Cohorts* cut to Pieces under *Gabinus* by the *Dalmatians*, which he had newly recovered; and that august Fabric long remained one of the chief Ornaments of the *campus Martius*, in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*.

During the Interval of suspense, while both Parties without Noise, were carrying on the Preparations for this impending War, nothing could be more prudent than the Behaviour of the artful *Cæsar*. Whether the constant Conversation of the Men of distinguished Worth and Learning, with whom he was surrounded, had really wrought a Change on the young Tyrant, or whether he found it his Interest to have it so believed, it is certain that he put on the most plausible Appearances, not only of *Lenity* and *Moderation*, but of *Repentance* for his former Cruelties; — he made the young *Cicero*, who had driven him into the Bog at *Philippi*, Edile and Pretor; he redoubled his Caresses to the approved Patriot *M. Messala*, who had beat his Troops and plundered his Camp that same Day: he had lately sent that great Man to command in *Gaul*, and humble the *Salassians* who nestled among the fastnesses of the

Alps, and defied a regular Army to curb their Robberies. — It was indeed no easy Task; they were *fierce*, *cunning*, and knew the Advantages of their *Situation*: but being withal very covetous, though *Messala* was forced to winter among them, and wanted Wood both for Fire, and to renew his military Machines, and the very Weapons of the Legions, they were so foolish as to furnish him with both *for Money*'. In the Spring he furrounded them with impregnable Camps; — shut them up in the Valley *d'Aost*, until Famine made them cry for Mercy. The Conquest was so important, being the most commodious *Pass* from *Italy* into *France* and *Spain*, that *Cæsar* afterwards settled a favorite Colony in it of his *superannuated Guards*, which he therefore called *Augusta Prætoria*; — too long a Name for the barbarous People to pronounce; and which at the Break of the Empire they corrupted into *Aost*, that now denominates the Passage over the *Alps* through *Piedmont*.

After such an Achievement, the Leader who conducted it had a good Title to the Honor of a Triumph: but *Messala* was above Show and Ostentation — he acquired solid Glory by refusing that glittering Procession, which many now courted and obtained with little or no military Desert'.

⁷ See Vol. II. p. 226.

⁸ Ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστην τινα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες, καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ διαπραττόντο σφίσι, οἱ μὲν παρὰ τ. Ἀντωνίου, οἱ δὲ διὰ τ. Καίσαρος ψηφίζεσθαι.

At his Return, *Cæsar* expressed the highest Satisfaction with his Conduct, and the most perfect Confidence in his Probity and Friendship; which is the more strange, that this eminent Person was, in *modern* Style, but an indifferent *Courtier*: — though I have had the Honor to know Ministers under *George II.* who resembled their great Master, and were *truly honest Men*. But *Messala*⁹ would *dissemble in nothing*, nor take a *single Step* in Business, which he did not think warranted by *Law* and the *Practice* of the *Common-wealth*.

During the Disorders of *Italy*, soon after his Return from the *East*¹, his Nobility, Popularity and great Parts, made *Cæsar* wish to intrust him with the Government of *Rome* in his Absence, and to make him *Guardian* of the public Peace; — accordingly he received a Commission from the *Triumvir*, creating him *Prefect* of the *City*, and giving him the same Jurisdiction in *Italy* which a Governor had in his *Province*, that is, all Power military and civil. *Messala* was at first persuaded to *accept* of the Commission; but in a few Days, having better considered the Nature of it, he brought it back to *Cæsar*, and formally resigned an Office, which he affirmed was *not legal in itself, nor consistent with the Constitution*

⁹ *Messala Corvinus*, primus præfectus urbis factus, sexto die magistratus se abdicavit, incivilem potestatem esse contestans. *Euseb. Cæs. Chronic.*

¹ Vol. IV. p. 69.

of Rome². The Commission was then made out for *Mecenas*, who, though good in the Main, was not troubled with such Scruples; and who made the best Apology for accepting an irregular, but necessary Jurisdiction, by the mild and humane Exercise of it for almost ten Years.

The Name therefore of such a Man as *Messala* had a growing Virtue in it to *sanctify* the Cause he espoused; to which if we add his personal Bravery, and Character as a *General*, that rendered him of such Consequence in the Day of a decisive Battle, we shall be able to account for *Cæsar's* not only *bearing* with his inviolable Attachment to Liberty, but his *courting* him to *declare* against *Antony*; by all the Methods he

² If *Messala Corvinus* would have accepted of a *Temperament* or *Palliative*, his own perfect Knowledge of History could not have failed to suggest, That the *Prefecture* of the City was an *old Magistracy*, created for the better and more decent Celebration of certain solemn Festivals, particularly those termed the *Latin Games*: and he was the lowest Magistrate that had the Power of calling and consulting the *Senate*. *M. Varro* ap. *Gell.* Lib. XIV. But *Cæsar* put all civil and military Power in his Hands; to suppress Riots, quell Conspiracies, in a Word, to seize and put to Death whom he pleased. This was a *new* Office under an *old* Appellation, which *Messala* could not digest: as indeed the *Prefecture* of Rome, exercised by the *Prefectus Pretorii* (General of the Guards) came in its natural Course to swallow up all other Offices; and the Person possessed of it made and unmade Emperors at his Pleasure.

could devise. But let us do Justice to this same *transformed Cæsar*, and not ascribe all the Appearances of public Virtue which he put on at this Juncture, merely to Views of Interest and the Necessity of his Affairs; they, no Doubt, powerfully co-operated towards his Conversion: — but I am greatly mistaken if by this Time his hard Heart were not really touched, and his merciless Nature beginning to melt into Humanity, — if he did not wish to become *truly good*, and to pursue salutary Measures from *Inclination* as well as Interest. *Messala's* embarking so cordially in his Cause, is a certain Proof that *he* believed so; and I have a grand Presumption to produce that he was not mistaken.

Among those Friends of *M. Brutus* who survived *Philippi*, and who put themselves either under *Enobarbus's*, the young *Cicero's*, or *Messala's* Protection, was the Hero's Companion, and Man of Letters, *Strato*, a Native of *Egea*, whom we mentioned on a mournful Occasion. He now held the same Rank in *Messala's* Family and Friendship, as he had done in *Brutus's*: who not contented with perpetually talking to *Cæsar* of the superior Virtue of his heroic General, *Marcus Brutus*, one Day asked an Audience in his Closet; and having obtained it, he walked in, holding *Strato* by the Hand — whom he presented to *Cæsar* with many Tears; and *this is the Man, Sir*, said he, *who did the last Office to my adored Brutus; — and whose approved Fidelity to his great Master, makes me beg Leave to recommend him to*

your Esteem and Protection. Cæsar mingled his Tears with *Messala's*, embraced the brave *Strato*, gave him the Command of some Ships of War at *Actium*, when his noble Behaviour fully answered the Patriot's Recommendation³. But this is not all.

Amid the many Scenes of Perfidy and Cruelty acted at the horrid Proscription, there had appeared some Instances of Duty and Affection of *Servants* towards their Masters that were amazing. Among the Rest a *Grecian* who had served in the noble *Junian* Family and been enfranchised, took his proscribed Master, and in Spite of the Triumviral Terrors and Premiums, concealed and provided for him till the Fury of the Massacre was abated. Of this Fidelity Cæsar was certainly informed, and whether now or not long afterwards is not of Moment; but instead of inflicting the Punishment denounced against the Abettors of the proscribed, he sent for the faithful Servant, *T. Junius Philopemen*, and, along with a handsome Present, promoted him to the Dignity of a *Roman Knight*, or, as we would say, *nobilitated* and made him a Gentleman. — Join now to these generous Deeds, that all the Friends of Liberty that remained in *Rome*, were invited by

³ Πλουτάρχ. ἐν Βοήτῳ. *Strato* became so eminent, that his Effigies was engraved and worn in Rings like those of the greatest Romans. One of these, in a *Chalcedone*, (a thoughtful mild Figure) was in the curious Collection of the late Baron *Stosch*.

Cæsar, I cannot properly say, *to Court*, which was not yet completely formed, but to take a *Share* in the Government, and as *free Romans*, to enter upon the Honors of the Common-wealth; such as *C. Flavius*, *Publius Sextius*, *Antistius Vetus*, *Pompeius Sabinus*, with many others, some of them the Sons of the *Martyrs* of Freedom, and others who had themselves bore Command under *Cassius* and *Brutus*; — put these Things together, I say, and it will require a great Degree of Suspicion not to believe him a *better Man*.

I observed that the Footing on which the *Colleague Triumvirs* had lived for some Time was extremely precarious: while *Antony* kept true to *Octavia*, and passed the Sun-shine-Days of his Life, blest in her Love at *Athens*, I believe their mutual Distrust was lulled asleep; nor was there for some Time thereafter, while he lived with her in *Italy*, Room for much Diffidence, though *Disgusts* might intervene: But no sooner had he sent her back from *Corfu*, and dispatched the courtly *Capito* into *Egypt* to conduct *Cleopatra* to *Syria*, than the mutual Confidence of the Chiefs broke, and each watched the other as a dangerous Rival. For it cannot be too much inculcated, That nothing but the *Tie* of *immediate Interest* can keep Men of no Honor long united; and that is perpetually varying: Witness the Treaties and Counter-Treaties, the Alliances and Guarantees entered into and broken almost every Year by most Powers in *Europe*, *Great Britain* alone excepted, whose Liberty and Independency

supporting the Principles of Honor of her King, hath for many Years set an Example of *Faith* and *Virtue* to the World. The Good and the Wise in every Country act from a *steady Principle* that cements their Love and Friendship, and makes it durable: But neither the high Familiarity in which the *Triumvirs* had long lived, their gaming, debauching, murdering and robbing together; nor the Affinity they had contracted by double Ties*, could beget a *thorough Confidence* between them. Every new Accession of Strength to the one alarmed the other; as every Disaster gave a secret Joy. The vast Preparations made by *Antony* for his *Parthian* Expeditions filled *Cæsar* with Apprehensions that were only dissipated by the Accounts of his Calamity or Mis-carriage.

In this State of Diffidence, the important News reached *Rome*, That the intended Invasion of *Parthia* was dropt for this Year; and that *Antony's* trusty General *Canidius Gallus* was actually marching through *Cilicia* with *sixteen Legions* for the Sea-Coast, whence they might land in *Italy* before the End of Summer. It filled *Cæsar* with inexpressible Anxiety: He had no Army that durst look the *Antonians* in the Face, being caught in a Manner *unprepared*, as he laid his Account when *Antony* had reached the *Araxes*, that there would be no sudden Rupture between them, nor consequent military Preparations till the next

* *Cæsar's* young Daughter by *Scribonia* was betrothed to *Antyllus*, *Antony's* eldest Son.

Spring. He *had Reason* to be afraid: No General of his Time was so beloved, or rather *doted on* by the Soldiery as *M. Antony*. This appeared in the Height of his Distress, when surrounded by the *Parthian Squadrons* in *Adiabene*. He himself gave all for lost; and intended to appear to the Army which his Rashness had missed in a *mourning Habit*. That his Friends opposed: — But when he saw *Fabius Gallus* his Lieutenant-General brought back with *four Arrows* sticking in his Breast — when he saw three thousand of his best Men lying dead on the Field, and five thousand carried away in their Wounds, he could no longer contain his Tears; but went about from Tent to Tent, bewailing their hard Fate and his own. It was then that the ardent Affection which his Army bore him shone brightest: The two Legions that had given Way, offered themselves to be *decimated*, or to submit to any Punishment he should be pleased to inflict; so they might not lie under his Displeasure, but have an Opportunity given them to expiate their Crime at the Expense of the Enemy. The Wounded, struck with his Condescensions and Sympathy entreated him ‘to keep up his Spirits — to go and take Care of *himself*: — That if *He* were well, all would be well; but if *he* should fail, his Army would be undone.’ The Reasons of this inviolate Attachment are not difficult to discover: *M. Antony* was a complete Soldier: all the brave and bold in the Heat of Youth, all the patient and strong in riper Years, whether addicted to

Pleasure or eager for Wealth, ranged themselves under his Banners: — These he treated in such a Manner, that high and low, Officers and Soldiers, were ready to do or suffer any Thing to please their beloved Leader. His noble Birth, his majestic Presence, his soldierly Eloquence, his open Heart, and more open Hand — but above all, his eating, drinking, joking and toiling *as they did*, — and his taking Part in their *Follies* as well as their Fortunes, rendered him just the *Idol of his Army*. All this *Cæsar* well knew; and farther, that this formidable Power was in the Hands of a Man, who, when once *roused* and put upon his Mettle, perfectly knew *how to use it*. The Chief whom *Julius Cæsar* had intrusted with the Command of his right Wing at the *Battle of Pharsalia*, and who for near fourteen Years had been acquiring military Experience in many a hazardous Campaign, must appear very formidable in the Height of his Skill and Authority.

At the same Time Affairs at home were in no better Posture than those abroad. *All the Italians*, except the lately intruded *Veterans* were greatly indisposed towards *Cæsar*, and abhorred the Thought of a new civil War. *Rome* in particular was swelling with Discontent, and ready to burst into Sedition and Tumults: for what with some great and expensive Works lately undertaken by *Cæsar*, what with sumptuous Shows for the entertainment of the People; but above all the Demands of his insatiate Army kept his Coffers low

and the Treasury empty. To enable him therefore to make the very *first Preparations* for such an impending War, he was under a Necessity of having Recourse to one of the odious Methods of raising Money that was employed after the Proscription, and again lay on a *Land-Tax* on the Citizens, and a *Poll-Tax* on the Freed-men all over *Italy*. The former were to pay a fourth Part of their yearly Rent, that is, five Shillings in the Pound, and the latter, an eighth of their Capital Stock.

The civil Wars raised by *Julius Cæsar*, which had continued raging with some short Intervals for near fifteen Years, had swept off the main Body of the old *Roman* Citizens: The Bulk of the People that now inhabited *Rome* were *infranchised Slaves* and their *Descendants*, who had no Interest in the War, and who being pressed with a cruel Tax were ready to take any the most violent Methods to evade it — They caballed in great Bodies, not without the Knowledge of many landed Gentlemen up and down *Italy*; and at last set Fire to the City itself, in Order to throw every Thing into Confusion. The Fire was first set to the Buildings that surrounded the *Great Circus*; thence it raged until the Flames caught the ancient Temple of *Ceres*, and involved the adjacent Structure consecrated to *Hope* in the same Conflagration. At the same Time the Rioters appeared in Arms in many open Places of the City, and the Insurrection might have risen to a dangerous Head, if the Prefect of *Rome*, *Cilnius*

Mecenas, had not exerted his unlimited Power, and sent some armed Cohorts to attack and disperse them. They resisted; and not a little Blood was spilt up and down the City, especially all around the burning Circus, ere they were finally quelled. After this their Accomplices in the other Parts of *Italy*, who were ready to have seized upon some strong Places, and declared against Taxes and *Cesar*, were glad to dissemble, and to pay (though with great inward Grudging) the heavy Rates imposed on their Estates. Had *Antony* landed his Legions in any Port of *Italy*, while the Inhabitants were in this Temper, (which his numerous Fleet and the unprepared State of his Enemy made an easy Enterprize), *Cesar must have been totally undone*; and I make no Doubt has often viewed the Probability of his own Ruin with Terror and Amazement.

But he met with Relief from a Quarter he little expected, and his Fears of being attacked *that Year* were at last blown over. *Cleopatra* was sent for to meet her Lover in his Way to the lower Coast, and she made such Haste, that by the Time he had crossed *Armenia* from the *Araxes*, she and her royal Retinue were ready to receive him on the *Cilician* Border. I say *Royal*, because it should seem she had brought the *Treasures of Egypt* and the *Wealth of Nations* along with her. The Train of Men and Carriages necessary to convey these, besides the infinite Tools and Ministers of all Sorts of Luxury that accompanied her, could not amount to less than some thousands of Men.

I believe she never undertook a Journey with so much complacency: — not for any Love she bore to her Gallant, (for a Lady of such *extensive* Pleasure could take no tender Attachment), but she now thought herself in a fair Way of attaining the Top of her Wishes, and of being nothing less than *Mistress* of the *World*. To show therefore *Antony's* Captains the *Spirit* of the Woman in whose Cause they were to draw their Sword, and what they might expect from her royal Magnificence, she invited him and his chief Officers to dine in her wondrous *Tent*. It contained *twelve Dining-rooms*, each of which were filled with Tables of massive Gold; and not only the various Courses were served up in the same Metal, but every Vessel and Instrument used at the Feast was of Gold, and many of them set with precious Stones and adorned with curious Workmanship. The Tapestry was of the finest Purple, enriched with Embroidery, and every thing so immensely sumptuous, that *even Antony* was amazed at it, and could not help expressing his Surprise at the Sight of so much Magnificence. The Queen smiled; and ‘*Do you then think, Sir! this Night's Service so very extraordinary?*’ He said, he ‘*did think it very extraordinary: Well,*’ replied the ‘*Princess, I make you a Present of it entire — and desire you and your Friends will come and dine with me to-morrow at the same Hour.*’ The whole rich Furniture then of that prodigious Tent was moved to *Antony's Pretorium*, who came next Day attended with his *Grandees*, in some Sort of Sus-

penſe about the Manner of their Reception. It was ſuch a Diſplay of Splendor and Opulence as made the preceding Day's Feaſt appear a *very moderate* Entertainment. But it amazed them out of Meaſure, when, in the Height of their Mirth, the Queen declared, 'That ſhe preſented every 'Gueſt with the Couch of Gold on which he had 'lain, the Table and its rich Coverings, with the 'Goblets and every Utenſil he had uſed at Dinner.' And when the illuſtrious Company was to break up, the chief Perſonages had magnificent *Chairs* and *Chairmen* attending to carry them home, which remained their Property, and the greater Part had *Horſes* richly caparifoned, with their Grooms, and every Gueſt without Exception had a *Negro-Boy* with a Flambeau to light him home; all freely gifted by *Cleopatra* ⁵.

After this we need not wonder at what *Meſſala* had recorded in thoſe Memoirs of *Philippi*, *Sicily* and *Actium*, whoſe loſs we juſtly lament, as a Proof of the high Pitch of Effeminacy and Profuſion to which *Antony* had arrived, 'That all the 'Inſtruments in his Bed-chamber, even thoſe deſtined for the loweſt Uſes about his Perſon, were 'of pure Gold' — a Crime, ſays that virtuous Roman, of which even *Cleopatra* might have been aſha-

⁵ Τῶν δ' ἡγεμόνων, ἐφ' ἣ ἕκαστος, κατέκειτο κλίνη, καὶ τὰ κυλίαια, καθὼς ταῖς ἑρμηναιῖς ἐμεμεριζται, ἐκάτω φέρειν ἐπέτρεψε· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον, τοῖς μὲν ἐν αἰζιώμασι φορεῖα σὺν τοῖς κομίζεσθαι, τοῖς πλείοσι δὲ, καλαργύροις σκευαῖς κεκοσμημέναις ἵππων, πᾶσι δὲ λαμπροδρόμοις παῖδας αἰδίοπας παρέστησεν.

med! His *natural Prodigality*, that had made him a Bankrupt before he was seventeen, joined to the Tides of Fortune that had flowed upon him, and especially his living so long with the most rapacious and wasteful of Woman-kind, had wore out the Traces of *Roman Manners*, and thrown him into every Sort of Licentiousness*. He would not, we may suppose, make *hard Marches* after taking up *Cleopatra*: They advanced as their Convenience or Pleasure permitted through the rich *Asiatic Towns* to *Ephesus*, the richest and most luxurious of them all, where not only the several Columns of his Army, and the Auxiliary Forces of the Tributary Kings had been appointed to rendezvous, but his whole Naval Strength was to be collected, consisting of *eight hundred Sail* with their necessary Tenders, *two hundred* of which were furnished by *Cleopatra*. Yet they did not give themselves so wholly up to Frolic and Feasting, but that a very serious Affair was debated in Council at *Ephesus*.

The noble *Domitius Enobarbus* had almost such a Character in *Antony's Party* as *Messala* had in *Cæsar's*. He was much the *best Man* that ever had been produced in that great and powerful Family. Though very gracious with *Antony*, he so preserved the Dignity of a *Roman*, as never to salute the

* *M. Antonius, vir per dundæ pecuniæ deditus, vacuusque curis nisi instantibus.* —

Fragm. Sallust.

Queen as his *Mistress*⁷, or by any other Name than *plain Cleopatra*! This great Person, seconded by the other *Romans* who understood the Disposition of *Italy* and *Rome*, persuaded *Antony* to send this *Egyptian Princess* directly home until the great Affair should be decided: a Step, they said, which would be attended with salutary Consequences, as it would stop the Mouths of his Enemies, and leave him more disembarassed to carry on the War. *Antony*, who quickly perceived what was for his own Interest, let the Queen accordingly know, '*That she must prepare to set Sail for Alexandria, and there in Safety wait the Issue of the War.*'

She received this Message as she would have done a Sentence of Banishment. Should her Lover be left in the Hands of his *Roman Friends*, especially *Domitius*, *Furnius* and *Cocceius*, who were all in good Habits with *Cæsar*, She justly supposed they would endeavour, as formerly, to mediate an Accommodation: That at the same Time the Virtue and superior Charms of *Octavia* would be again employed to retrieve her bewitched Husband, and bring him by the Baits of *honorable Pleasure* to a due Sense of his true Interest, and the genuine Bottom of his Power — a Thought

⁷ Δεσπότις or Δέσποινα, which implies such a Sovereignty as an Eastern Master or Mistress have over their Slaves, was the usual Style in the Egyptian, and all the Eastern Courts, with which I suspect *Plancus*, *Titius*, *Dellius*, *Sossius*, to have complied.

that put the *Egyptian* on the Rack, and threw her from that Summit of Sovereignty to which she had already mounted in Imagination, upon Presumption of her Lover, or, (as she now called him) her Husband's never questioned Victory. However, as the Message came directly from the *Triumvir*, she did not find it proper to oppose it personally, or give a downright Denial; but she looked among his Followers for some fit Instrument to ward off this impending Blow. At last she pitched upon *Canidius Gallus* the senior General, whose Services and blind Obedience had recommended him to *Antony*, and whose Love of Money had made him obnoxious to *Cleopatra*. It was not difficult for her, who had so great an ascendant over the Chief, to make Interest among the Members of his Council, to have the Matter brought again upon the Carpet. When *Domitius* and *Cocceius Nerva* did not fail to insist and press the Queen's immediate Departure for *Egypt*, *Canidius* then took the Counter-part, and declared himself of a quite contrary Sentiment. 'He thought
'it, in the first Place, both unjust and imprudent
'to drive from them a Princess whose Treasures and
'Magazines contributed more to the War than any
'three of the other Auxiliary Kings; neither was it,
'he said, by any Means advisable to dishearten the
'Egyptians, the most numerous and zealous of their
'Allies, who were the Flower of their Fleet, as the
'sending away their Queen would infallibly do. That
'if he might speak his mind freely, he saw no Prince
'among those who had armed in their Cause to whom

‘Cleopatra was inferior in Understanding or Capacity: That she had given many Proofs of it in the Government of a great Kingdom and its large Dependencies for fifteen Years; as indeed in the Company and Conversation of so great a Master, she could not miss acquiring a superior Skill in the Arts of Peace and War, of which, he hoped, they were too wise to deprive themselves.’

The artful *Canidius* soon gained his Point — ‘For, says the superstitious *Plutarch*’, Fate had decreed that *Cæsar* should have *All*.’ — Cleopatra was not only allowed to stay; but the infatuated *Antony*, whilst his Troops, furnished by all the Kings, Princes, and Nations of the *East*, from *Egypt* to the *Euxine Sea*, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, were assembling; crossed over with her to the Island of *Samos*, there to abandon himself to equally ill-judged and ill-timed Rejoicings. Thither all Singers, Dancers, Buffoons, Players, Musicians, &c. were, by Proclamation, commanded to repair: nothing was minded but Feasting and Diversion; so that whilst Grief, and Dread of the approaching Calamities filled the Rest of the World with Tears, Mirth and Pleasure seemed to have taken up their Residence at *Samos*. Every City within the Limits of *Antony*’s Government was ordered to send thither an Ox to be sacrificed; and the Kings who attended him vied with each other, which should make the most sumptuous Entertainments, and give his Favorite
the

‘ In Anton.

the greatest Presents. Such was the Height of their Luxury and Extravagance, that it became a common Question among the Spectators, *What they would do by Way of Triumph after the Victory, who made such Rejoicings at the Opening of the War?* ⁹

When these Festivals, which lasted several Days, were over, *Antony* sent his Players to *Priene*, there to wait his Orders, whilst he himself proceeded to *Athens*, where he lived after his usual Manner, spending his whole Time in Luxury and Voluptuousness. — Another Object then busied *Cleopatra*. — The Honors which *Octavia* had received in that City (for her *Virtue* had raised the Admiration of all *Greece*, and justly merited every Mark of the highest Veneration), excited the Jealousy of the *Egyptian Queen*. — Sensible that the same Distinctions could never be conferred on her for the same Reasons, she substituted in their Stead Caresses, and external Tokens of Favor towards the *Athenians*, who, always fond of flattering the Great, decreed her, in Return, Honors beyond the Condition of Mortals, and sent this Decree to her, at her House, by a Deputation of their Citizens; at the Head of which *Antony*, being free of *Athens*, officiously put himself, and meanly harangued her, with fulsome Compliments, in the Name of the People. — But he had done more than this before, at *Alexandria*.

⁹ Plut. *ibid.*

The Titles he had there given to her and to her Children; the large Provinces he had dismembered from the Empire, in Order to augment her Dominions, and constitute new States for his newly created Kings; his barbarous Treatment of the virtuous *Octavia*; and his now acknowledging *Cleopatra* as his Wife; were Steps which rankled the Heart of every *Roman*; and of which *Octavius*, personally provoked at seeing *Cæsario* set up in Opposition to him, as the Son and Heir of *Cæsar*, took every Advantage to exasperate the People against *Antony*, who, on his Side, was not more sparing of him. — Among other Things, Letters were written by *Antony*, and industriously handed about, by Way of *Manifesto*, in which not only the Conduct, but the Person and Character of *Cæsar* were attacked without Reserve. He represented him as a perfect Profligate; “That having cruelly divorced his first Wife *Scribonia*, for no other Reason than her complaining of his too great Attachment to his Mistress, he had torn *Livia Drusilla* from the Arms of her Husband; and not satisfied with that Mixture of Insult, Lewdness, and Cruelty, employed his Friends in the odious Office of stripping and inspecting ripe Virgins and married Women for his Service, as if they had been standing for Sale in a Slave-market: nay, that in the Height of his unbridled Passions, he had forced a Lady of the first Quality out of a Room full of Company, in the Presence of her unhappy Husband, and after some Time brought her back, with her

“Face and Ears glowing, and her Hair all in Disorder. — With what Face, said he, can such a Man find Fault with my Love for *Cleopatra*, whom I acknowledge as my lawful Wife?” *Antony*’s artfully offering, which he never intended in Reality, to abdicate the *Triumvirate*, as being a Magistracy too powerful and absolute in a Republican State; was as designingly answered by *Octavius*’s taking the Consulship, though but for a few Hours; and by his declaring, at the same Time, that he was also ready to resign the Office of *Triumvir*, provided his Colleague came to *Rome*, and made his Resignation in that City, the Centre of the Empire, and of all public Authority; where alone it could be done with Safety to either Party, by their both laying down their Power at one and the same Time¹. This Proposal seemed very reasonable; though *Octavius* knew full well, when he made it, that he ran no Risk of its being agreed to by his Rival, who, even if he had been free from *Cleopatra*’s Fetters, would not have ventured to come to *Rome*, where he was sure of being over-powered by *Cæsar*’s numerous Faction.

These Disputes between the two *Triumvirs* occasioned long and violent Debates in the Senate; for *Antony* still had a considerable Party there, and the two Consuls then in Office, *Domitius Enobarbus* and *C. Sosius*, were entirely devoted to him: but with this Difference, that *Domitius*,

¹ Liv. Epit. CXXXI.

having learnt by Experience the Danger of appearing zealous on such Occasions, behaved with great Moderation and Reserve: whereas *Sofius*, who had always been attached to *Antony*, and enjoyed a constant Flow of Happiness, showed all that Pride which naturally results from a long Series of good Fortune. He openly opposed *Octavius*; upon whose keeping away from the Senate, to avoid being exposed, *Sofius* would have passed a Decree very hurtful to his Interest, if the Tribune *Balbus* had not prevented it.

At Length *Octavius*, judging that his Absence might be imputed to Fear or Weakness, and being at the same Time unwilling to make use of Force, or to seem to lay any Constraint on the Senate, went thither, and seated himself between the two Consuls; but with the Precaution of being attended by a Number of his Friends, armed with Poniards under their Robes. There he began with a modest Declaration, and an artful Apology for his Conduct: after which he inveighed bitterly against *Antony*, and *Sofius*, who was present, pretending to convict them of several Attempts against him and the Republic. — He was heard with Attention: but observing that this Speech was not attended with the least Mark of Approbation, he appointed another Day, on which he said he would produce such Proofs, as would set *Antony's* Designs in a full and proper Light. The Consuls, thinking it indecent for them to listen quietly to such an Accusation of *Antony*, when they durst not well show their Resentment

against it, left *Rome* privately, without waiting for the Day appointed, and went over to *Antony*, accompanied by several Senators.

Octavius, glad to get rid of all the Friends of *Antony*, rather than have them remain in *Italy*, ready, perhaps, to stir up Disorders when he might be absent or busied in War, seized this Opportunity to make an artful Show of Moderation, by publicly declaring that he had not the least Intention to detain any of those who wished to join *Antony*; and that all such as chose to follow the Example of the Consuls, were at full Liberty to depart as soon as they pleased. Almost all the Friends and Relations of *Antony* took him at his Word. The noble *Pollio*, who had not meddled in the least with *Antony's* Concerns since the Treaty of *Brindisi*, where he acted as his Plenipotentiary, being too conscious of his own Worth to condescend to make his Court to *Cleopatra*, and too grave to Countenance her riotous Proceedings, remained quiet in *Italy*; not thinking himself at all obliged to take Part with *Antony* in the Quarrel that was now breaking out. But at the same Time, judging it would be indecent for him to carry Arms against his old Friend and Benefactor, he remained neuter: and when *Octavius* proposed to him to attend him in the War, he flatly refused it, saying, *I have served Antony better, perhaps, than he has rewarded me: but as the Favors I have received at his Hands are more known than the Services I have done him, I*

will therefore wait the Event of the War, and run the Risk of becoming the Prey of the Conqueror ¹.

The King of the *Medes* soon had Cause to repent his new Alliance with *Antony*. Supported by the *Roman* Legionaries, which this last had left him in Exchange for some of his *Median* Horse, he gained a Victory over the *Parthians*, and over his Rival *Artaxias*, whom they protected. But *Antony*, recalling his Troops, and not sending back those he had received in Return, *Artuafdes* was vanquished, taken Prisoner, sent to *Alexandria*, and there made away with, just before the *Ælian* War began, by Directions from *Antony*; whom he had formerly betrayed to the *Parthians*, and who was now afraid he might escape and join *Octavius*, with whom there were strong Suspicions of his being in Correspondence ². *Armenia* was thereby restored to *Artaxias*, and *Media* fell under the Dominion of the *Parthians*. Such was the End of *Antony's* vast Projects with Regard to the Upper *Asia*!

Though both the *Triumvirs* were now making great Preparations for War, some Possibility of a Reconciliation might perhaps still remain; when *Antony*, exasperated by the Reports of those who had left *Octavius* and gone over to him, and urged

¹ *Mea in Antonium majora merita sunt, illius in me beneficia notiora. Itaque discrimini vestro me subtraham, & ero præda victoris.*

Vell. II. 86.

² *Strab. Lib. XII.*

to it without Doubt by the haughty *Cleopatra*, took a Step by which he for ever lost the Affection of every *Roman*. During his Stay at *Athens*, he solemnly divorced the virtuous *Octavia*, and sent proper Officers to *Rome* to drive her out of his House. She obeyed without complaining, and retired to her own House, taking with her all his Children, except *Antyllus*, his eldest Son by *Fulvia*, who was with his Father. She only lamented her hard Fate in being looked upon as one of the unhappy Causes of a civil War: but Men of Penetration well knew that her Brother's unbounded Ambition, which, not satisfied with one Half of the *Roman* Empire, aspired at the Whole, was the only real Cause. The *Romans*, who were Spectators of this affecting Scene, pitied her severe Misfortunes and *Antony's* extreme Weakness; especially such of them as had seen *Cleopatra*, who was no Way preferable to *Octavia*, either for Youth or Beauty. — Infatuated in every Respect, he now lost in Diversions and Debaucheries with his *Egyptian* Enchantress, the precious Opportunity, which never more occurred, of attacking, and probably ruining, *Octavius* before he was sufficiently prepared, when all *Italy* was in the utmost Rage, and ready to take Arms against him³. But *Antony's* Delays gave him Time not only to allay the Ferment, but also to win the People over to his Side, and raise Forces nearly equal to those of his Enemy.

³ P. 201.

By divorcing *Octavia* and marrying *Cleopatra*, *Antony* committed two capital Errors. — By the first, he irretrievably lost the Friendship of his Colleague, which it appears by his Letters he thought might be still kept up: and by the second, he entirely forfeited the good Opinion of the *Romans*; who, though they allowed their Great Men as many foreign Mistresses as they pleased, looked upon his marrying the Queen, and giving her the Rights of a Wife, as a Proof of a total Alienation, and that he was, in his Heart, no longer a *Roman*. Besides which he manifestly transgressed a plain Law, that defined legal Matrimony to be only between a Roman Man and a Roman Woman *, and forbid it with Foreigners or Slaves †; in the same Manner as it is prohibited in the Jewish Law ‡.

* *Legitimæ sunt Nuptiæ, si Romanus Romanam nuptiis intervenientibus, vel consensu ducat Uxorem.*

Caii Instit. Lib. I. Tit. IV. de Matrimon.

† *Cum Peregrinis & Servis Connubium ne esto.*

Ibid.

‡ *Exod. C. XXXIV. v. 16.* compared with *I. Kings, C. XI. v. 2.* would induce one to think that this Law was not universal against all Foreigners, but levelled against the neighbouring Nations, the Ammonites and Moabites, who did not meet Israel in their Journey. How else could *Moses* marry first an Arab, and then an *Æthiopian*, or Moor, if, as some think, they were different Persons?

During *Antony's* Stay at *Athens*, many of his Friends, being ill used by *Cleopatra* for opposing her Design of attending him in the War, forsook him, and went over to *Octavius*: in particular, two of his *Privados* (as the Spaniards call Favorites), *Plancus*, the Uncle, and *Titius* the Nephew, left him. — This was an Acquisition of great Consequence to *Cæsar*. — *Plancus* whose Character has been already touched on⁷, was, for some Time, one of *Cleopatra's* Sycophants, and privy to all *Antony's* Intrigues; debasing himself to the meanest Employments about him, even to the writing of his Love-Letters to the Queen and to other Women. Though he had been Consul, Commander in Chief of an Army, and Governor of a Province, he was not ashamed to appear at the *Egyptian* Court among common Actors, Buffoons, and Stage-Players; Wretches, whose Birth was as mean as their Profession. At a public Entertainment, to curry Favor with the Queen, he took upon him to personate *Glaucus*; and having painted his Body green, danced quite naked on the public Stage, upon his Knees, with a Crown of Reeds upon his Head, and trailing behind him the Tail of a huge Fish. This Behaviour, so unbecoming a Man of his Age and Quality, made him appear contemptible even in the Eyes of the *Egyptians*. This Contempt, together with *Antony's* reproaching him with some Extortions he had been guilty of, and for which he was under Ap-

⁷ Vol. III. p. 115.

prehenensions of being punished, made him take the first Opportunity to go over to *Octavius*. Such, says *Velleius* *, (who had an Opportunity of knowing *Plancus* extremely well, and who paints very naturally) and not Love of the Public, nor Esteem of the best Party, were the Motives which determined him to leave *Antony*. Nor is it difficult to reconcile this Account with that of *Plutarch* †; for it is not at all improbable that *Plancus* might advise sending away *Cleopatra* from the War, and that *Antony's* Anger on that Account might burst out into those Reproaches, which were but too well founded. — *Titius*, the Nephew, lies under a heavy Suspicion of Ingratitude to a Benefactor, *S. Pompey*, who had saved his Life, and whom he, it was thought without Order, put to Death in Return. He was of a *factious* Family, — His Grandfather, by professing to tread in the Steps of *Saturninus*, the furious Tribune, and setting his Picture in the most conspicuous Part of his House, gained such Popularity, as to dare to promulgate an Agrarian Law, which required all the Eloquence of *C. Antony*, (the greatest Orator in *Rome*) and Weight of the Consular Power, to suppress. — His Father, *M. Titius*, bred under *Julius Cæsar*, had gone through, as one of his Captains, all the Scenes of Iniquity, Rapine, and Murder, that necessarily happened in the Destruction of

* Lib. II. § 83.

† In Anton.

Liberty, and making Way for a lawless Usurpation.

The first Account we hear of this Youth is as Lieutenant to the flagitious *Dolabella*; then as the Tribune who preferred the mock-Law authorizing the *Triumvirate*. After this, he entered into *Cæsar's* Service, where, being taken prisoner by *Menodore* in the *Sicilian War*, he was carried to *S. Pompey*, who gave him his Life, and used him as a Friend. He returned to *Rome* upon the Peace of *Miseno*, and followed the profuse and debauched *Antony's* Fortunes in *Asia*, where he became his Lieutenant-General. In that Capacity he is said to have perpetrated the unbidden Murder of *Sextus Pompey*. At least it was certainly believed to have been so, at *Rome*; for the Odium lay so flagrant upon him, that having by Extortion and changing Masters accumulated so much Wealth, as to be able to give Shows to the People, he was hissed and hooted out of one of them by the Spectators, who could not contain their Indignation at its being exhibited in the Theatre built by *Pompey the Great*. — Yet, as one acquainted with the *Eastern Provinces*, he was again made *Prefect* of *Syria* by *Cæsar*, and had the Honor to hold a Congress with *Phraates*, the *Parthian Tyrant*; and in *Cæsar's* Name to receive the Eagles and Ensigns taken from *M. Crassus*, along with the King's own Sons, as Hostages in Appearance, but in Reality to screen them from the Vengeance due to their Father's Cruelties.

It is not impossible but this may have been the

daring Pindaric Poet mentioned by *Horace* in a passing Compliment, and perhaps criticized by him in the inimitable Ode addressed to *M. Antony's* youngest Son by *Fulvia*. — But as the *Titian* Family was numerous, I should rather imagine the Poet to have been a Grand-son of the famed natural Orator, *C. Titius*, whom *Cicero* declares to have arrived at as great a Pitch of Eloquence, as it was possible for a *Roman* to attain without the *Grecian* Culture and much Study. His Speeches were so full of Wit, of pretty Tales, and Pleasantry, that they seemed to have dropped from an Attic Pen. He transplanted that same Wit into some Tragedies which he published, and showed great Acuteness — but marred the Majesty of the Buskin.

The Tribune, of whom I am speaking, was a sharp loquacious Fellow, but dissolute in his Manners and Deportment. His Gesture and Action, in defending Causes, was so much marked with these effeminate Motions, that the Managers of the Theatre contrived a lewd Sort of a Dance, which they termed *Titius*¹: — and one Day when he was lamenting his Fate, to tell Truth and never be believed, like *Cassandra* — ‘Tis true, said the witty Consul, You are a *Cassandra*; and I could name a good many *Oilean Ajaxes*, who have taken you Prisoner².

¹ *Cic.* in Bruto.

² *Cic.* de Orat.

Whatever may have been the real Cause that made these two Men, *Plancus* and *Titius*, leave *Antony*, *Octavius*, without troubling himself about that, received them with great Demonstrations of Friendship and Affection; and they, according to the usual Practice of Deserters, who, to justify their own Conduct, never fail to blame the Party they have left, railed violently in the Senate against *Antony*, and laid a thousand atrocious Things to his Charge. *Plancus*, in particular, accused him of so many Crimes, and with such extreme Bitterness and Venom, that *Coponius*, an ancient Pretor, could not help reprimanding him severely, by saying to him, *This Antony must certainly have become a very bad Man the Evening before you left him* ³.

Octavius listened to these Accusations with great Satisfaction; and *Cluvius*, one of his Partisans, seconding what had been said, urged many new ones, all of which sprung from *Antony's* mad Passion for *Cleopatra*. He alledged, among other Things, that he had given her the noble Library of *Pergamus*, consisting of two hundred thousand Volumes; that he had suffered the *Athenians* to salute her, in his Presence, by the Titles of Queen and Mistress; that frequently whilst he was giving Audience to Kings and Princes, he received Love-Letters from her, which he read before them;

³ Multa, mehercle, fecit Antonius pridie quam tu illum relinqueres.

that one Day, when *Furnius*, a Person of considerable Rank, and the most eloquent among the *Romans*, was pleading before him, *Cleopatra* happening to appear, crossing the Forum in a Litter, *Antony* left the Assembly to follow her; and laying his Hand upon the Litter, went with her. These Reproaches would, perhaps, be thought trifling now-a-days; but they were judged to be so serious among the *Romans*, that it was not by attempting to extenuate, but by denying them, that such of *Antony's* Friends as still remained at *Rome* undertook to excuse him.

But nothing pleased *Octavius* better, or gave him more Occasion of Triumph, than *Antony's* Will, the Purport of which, highly injurious and dishonorable to the *Roman* People, he was informed of by *Titius* and *Plancus*, who had signed it as Witnesses. This Will was lodged with the *Vestals*, who, upon *Octavius's* demanding it, answered, That they could not deliver it up without a sacrilegious Breach of the Trust reposed in them; but that *Octavius* might, if he thought fit, come and seize it himself. He did so; and after having read it over in private, and marked those Places which he thought most for his Purpose, he read it in full Senate, and then before all the People. — *Antony* therein declared, that *Cæsario*, *Cæsar's* Son by *Cleopatra*; was born in lawful Wedlock, and therefore was the true Heir of *Julius Cæsar*: and that he himself was married to *Cleopatra*; to whom, and to her Children, he bequeathed enormous Gifts, not of Money or Jewels only,

but of whole Kingdoms and Provinces of the *Roman* Empire: and, — which shocked the *Romans* most of all, — he ordered that his Body, wherever he should die, even though at *Rome*, should be sent into *Egypt*, to *Cleopatra*, there to be buried as she should direct.

Octavius, though in Reality more piqued at the first of these Articles, which tended to dispossess him of the Inheritance he held only as the adopted Son of the Dictator, artfully laid the greatest Stress upon the last, as the most interesting to all the *Romans*; to whom, said he, the greatest of Indignities was offered by the Directions therein given for *Antony's* Burial, and who were to be robbed of their finest Provinces, to enrich a foreign Princess, a declared Enemy to *Rome*. — These Facts, indisputably proved from an authentic Instrument, estranged from *Antony* the Minds of many, who had, till then, pleaded his Cause with great Zeal: and even at this Time some of his Friends boldly declared, that they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented Way of Proceeding, to punish a Man in his Life-time for what was not to be put in Execution till after his Death.

Antony's Friends, observing how much the People began to be disgusted at him, had Recourse to Prayers and Entreaties to them; and in the mean Time sent *Geminus*, one of the Party, to make a last Effort with him, and let him know, that, unless he altered his Conduct, he was in Danger of being deprived of the Office of Consul, to which he had been named for the ensuing Year,

of being stripped of all his Governments, and declared a public Enemy. *Geminus's* Arrival alarmed *Cleopatra*, who, looking upon him as a Spy sent by *Octavia*, did all that lay in her Power to disoblige him, affronting him perpetually, and placing him always at the lowest End of the Table, where he was made the constant Butt of her insulting Raillery. *Geminus* bore it all with great Patience, in Hopes of finding, at Length, an Opportunity of talking with *Antony* in private. But at last being called upon, in the Middle of a numerous Feast, to declare what had brought him to *Athens*; *The Business I come upon*, said he, *is not of a Nature to be talked of over a Bottle: one Thing, however, I am charged by your Friends to tell you, which you may hear as well drunk as sober: Your Affairs will bear a much better Face, if you send Cleopatra back to Egypt* *. *Antony* was in a Passion; but *Cleopatra*, with an affected Coolness and a malicious Sneer, answered, *You have done very wisely, Geminus, to tell us this important Secret before it was extorted from you on the Rack!* A few Days after, *Geminus*, dreading the Effects of *Cleopatra's* Anger, made his Escape, and returned to *Rome*, whither he was followed by many of *Antony's* Friends, no longer able to bear the ill Usage they received from the imperious Queen. Among these *Plutarch* mentions particularly *M. Silanus*, who was afterwards *Octavius's* Colleague in the Consulship; and *Q. Dellius*, (*Antony's* first courtly Ambassador

* *Plut.* in *Anton.*

bassador to *Cleopatra*) whom he calls the Historian, but who is better known by the Title which *Messala* gave him, of the *Vaulter* * of the civil Wars, because he had left *Dolabella* for *Cassius*, *Cassius* for *Antony*, and now *Antony* for *Octavius*. *Seneca* the Father quotes several very gallant Letters of his writing to *Cleopatra*. — Towards the latter End of the Time that he was with *Antony* he displeased the *Egyptian* Queen, by saying at an Entertainment, where the Wine was not to his Mind, that *Antony's* Friends were served with Vinegar, while *Sarmentus*, (one of *Cæsar's* Buffoons, mentioned by *Horace* †,) drank nothing but *Faler-num* at Rome. *Cleopatra* was so offended at this

* *Defultor* † bellorum civilium.

Sen. Suasor. I.

† A Metaphor taken from an Exercise in Horsemanship, long disused, but lately revived by the famous *Mr. Johnson*, particularly in the *Environs* of *London*. — The Rider used to take four or six Horses, according to his Strength, and, at full Gallop, in a Ring, jump from Horse to Horse till he had rode them all. *Mithridates* King of *Pontus* used to drive eight, some say twelve, Coursers in this Manner. — This Rider was called *Defultor*; the Epithet wittily given by *Messala* to *Dellius*, and so happily applied, that it stuck to him for ever. — And here we cannot but observe in Justice to our modern *Defultor*, *Mr. Johnson*, whom we could not miss this fair Opportunity of introducing, that if he has not yet equalled the Monarch of *Pontus* by riding so great a Number of Horses; he seems, if we are rightly informed, to have surpassed him in the superior Dexterity of riding upon his Head,

* *Lib. I. Sat. 5.* where the Poet gives a Description of a Combat between him and another Buffoon called *Cicerrus*. He was one of those Youths whom the Romans called *Deliciae*, *Minions*.

Joke, that she ordered *Dellius* to be privately murdered: but he, being informed of her Design by one *Glaucus*, her Physician⁷, saved himself by Flight. This, at least, is what he said; perhaps to excuse his Perfidy.

Rome echoed with Complaints and Reproaches against *Antony*. His old Adversaries, as well as those who had lately deserted his Party, all joined in condemning him; and his own Conduct was still more hurtful to him than all the Speeches that were made to his Disadvantage. A Slave to *Cleopatra*, he seemed to have no other Will than that of his Queen, who had the Assurance to promise herself the Empire of *Rome*; and who, when she wanted to confirm a Thing by Oath, swore by the Laws she would dictate in the *Capitol* to the whole Universe. She had already a *Roman* Guard, the Soldiers of which had her Name engraved upon their Bucklers. — This gave *Octavius* ample Foundation to make the *Romans* fear that *Antony*, in Case he remained Conqueror, would subject them to *Cleopatra*, and transfer the Seat of the Empire from *Rome* to *Alexandria*. — *Antony* seemed entirely to have forgot that he was a *Roman*. He had now quite laid aside not only the

⁷ Besides *Glaucus*, *Cleopatra* had another Physician, named *Dioscorides*, a Native of *Anazarbus*, who got the Epithet of *Dioscorides Oano's* from the Multitude of Wens on his Face. He wrote twenty-two Volumes, all on medicinal Subjects, and greatly esteemed.

Suidas in *Nom.*

Manners and Maxims, but even the Dress of his Country; frequently appearing upon a Throne of Gold, clothed like an Eastern Prince, glittering with Purple and precious Stones, a Median Sabre by his Side, a golden Sceptre in his Hand, and, if we may believe *Florus*, a Diadem upon his Head. He had abolished the Use of the old Name of *Pretorium*, which signified, with the Romans, the Tent and Apartment of the General in Camp, or the Habitation of the supreme Magistrate in the Provinces, and substituted in its Stead βασιλειον a royal Tent or Habitation; as if he had yielded the Pre-eminence and Right of Command to *Cleopatra*. In short, in the same manner as *Cleopatra* gave herself out for the new *Isis*, and assumed to herself the Attributes of that Goddess, in the Pictures and Statues that were made for her; so *Antony* would be painted, or represented in Brass or Marble, at her Side, with the Symbols which characterized *Osiris*.

Antony, as if he had industriously studied to render himself odious to the Romans, at last completed his Ruin. *Octavius* obtained a Decree, depriving him of the Consulship he was to have enjoyed the following Year, and of all Command in the Commonwealth, which he had already given up to a Woman. — With his usual Policy, he would not suffer him to be declared a public Enemy; either because he durst not carry Matters to that Extremity, on Account of the Friends which *Antony* had still at Rome; or to keep up to that System of *Moderation* which he had pre-

scribed to himself ever since his Victory over *Sextus Pompey*. — If *Antony* had been declared an Enemy to the Public, all those that were attached to him, among whom were several Persons of Distinction, would have been involved in the same Condemnation. — But *Octavius* was so far from wanting to lose them, that he was glad, on the contrary, to leave them an Opening to come over to him.

In Consequence of this System, all Things being ready, *War* was declared only against *Cleopatra*. The Proclamation was made with all the usual Ceremonies, and the *Romans* put on their military Garb, as for an imminent Danger, which greatly interested the Safety of the Republic. — *Octavius* then made a Speech to the People, in which he told them, That *Antony*, enchanted by a Sorceress, was no more himself; the Drugs and Philtres administered to him by *Cleopatra*, having deprived him of his Reason: so that the chief Conductors of the War against them would be *Mardion*, the Eunuch, and *Pothinus*; *Cleopatra's* Tire-woman *Iras*, and her Maid *Charmion*^{*}, who

^{*} Επεὶ δὲ παρεσκευάστο Καῖσαρ ἰκανῶς, ψηφίζεται Κλεοπάτρα πολεμεῖν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς Αντώνιον ἧς ἐξήση γυναικί· ἢ προσεῖπε Καῖσαρ, Ὡς Αντώνιῳ μὲν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων οὐδ' ἑαυτῷ κρατοῖν; πολέμοισι δὲ αὐτοῖς Μαρδίων ὁ Ἀνέχῳ ἢ Ποθεινός ἢ Ἐίρας ἢ Κλεοπάτρας κουρεύτρια ἢ Καρμίων ὑφ' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖται τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

Πλουτάρχ. Αντώνιῳ.

These Maids of Honor seem to have been *Syrians*. *Bochart*, from *Tzetzes* (*Chil.* 6. *Hist.* 44) observes that Ἐίρας

were already become *Antony's* Counsellors, and Prime - Ministers of State.

This *Show* of Moderation in Favor of *Antony*, who was not once mentioned in the Declaration of War⁹, tended only to render him contemptible, and at the same Time more reproachable and odious; since, without being personally attacked, he was now to fight against his Country and Fellow - Citizens, for a strange Woman. He saw through his Enemy's Design, was excessively provoked at it, demanded a new Oath, and swore solemnly at the Head of his Army, that he never

should be wrote Σαίρα or Ταίρα, coming from *Tair* a Bird; and Χαρίων, Χαρμιωνή or Χαρμιώνη, from כַּרְמִי *Charm* a Vine, and יוֹנָתָן *Juno*, a Dove, of the Species called *Oiva's Vinago*: he might easily have added, That the Eunuch *Mardion* was of the same Nation, and had a Name very much befitting his Station, from the Chaldee מַרְדִּי *Marat* or *Marad*, to *shave*, *make bald*, to *smooth* and *polish*. The Girls Names would certainly be abbreviated at Court; and if they were to be translated, we should call the one *Miss Bird*, the other *Miss Dove*; and the two Gentlemen, *Mr. Smooth*, and *Mr. Lovely*. These Names give us a small Taste of the Strain and Manner of that luxurious Court. The last Name is Greek, from Πέλας, *Love*, *Desire*.

⁹ *Horace* has imitated the Reserve of his Patron in this Point, by not so much as once mentioning the Name of *Antony* in the many Lines he has written upon this War. — *Virgil* has been less circumspect.

would make either Peace or even a Truce with *Octavius*. He added, but without any real Intention to perform his Promise, that he would abdicate the *Triumvirate* within two Months after the Victory. — His Soldiers pressed him to take six, which, with much *seeming* Reluctance, he at Length agreed too. — *Octavius*, on his Side, engaged all *Italy*, by Oath, to serve him in the War against *Antony*. Only the City of *Bologna*, which had always been under the Protection of *Antony's* Family, asked and obtained Leave not to enter into this League against its Patron.

The whole of this Year, the second peaceable one that *Rome* had enjoyed since the Ending of the *Sicilian War*, passed in formidable Preparations between the two rival *Triumvirs* without any actual Hostilities committed on either Side. But just before the Sword determined their respective Claims, whilst their Fleets and Armies were formed, and almost ready to engage, a *Paper-War* broke out between the two Generals, who wrote very sharp and reflecting Letters to each other. *Octavius* reproached *Antony* with the Prodigality of his Entertainments, and his Intrigues with *Cleopatra*. *Antony*, on the other Hand, reminded *Octavius* of his famous Banquet of the twelve Gods (a Scene, it must be owned, far more scandalous than any Thing that *Antony* had ever been guilty of), and of his many other notorious Acts of Lewdness; to which he added the Charge of Cowardice, founded on his Behaviour in all the Battles at which he had been present. The young

Cæsar, nettled at this last Accusation, answered, That it was childish to fight any longer with the Pen; but that if he would approach at the Head of his Army, he should be suffered to land in *Italy* without Molestation, that his Fleet should have safe Ports, and his Land-Forces Ground enough to encamp on, and put themselves in Order of Battle. In Return to these Bravadoes, *Antony*, though much the oldest of the two, challenged his Rival to a single Combat; and sent him Word, That if he declined the Challenge, he was ready to meet him at the Head of his Army in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Cæsar* and *Pompey* had formerly decided their Quarrel.

In the mean While, *Octavius* made the most of the Time, which the ill-judged Delays of his Adversary afforded him, to strengthen his Fleet and Army, and guard against the Commotions which his Absence might occasion in *Italy*. He had the more Reason to be afraid of these, as he knew that *Antony*, whom the opulent Countries of *Asia* and the *East* furnished with immense Riches, had sent considerable Sums to *Italy*, and even to *Rome* itself, in Order to re-animate the Courage of his old Friends, and, if possible, gain him new ones. This determined *Octavius* to distribute a Donative to his Soldiers, to strengthen their Fidelity against any Attempts that might be made to corrupt them; and, at the same Time, he placed Troops in such Places as he suspected, or were exposed to the Insults of the Enemy. His Fleet and Army were assembled at *Brindisi*,

and towards Autumn *Antony* arrived at the Island of *Corcyra*, where he again missed a fair Opportunity of greatly annoying his hitherto not well-prepared Enemy: for some of *Cæsar's* Vessels, sent out only for Intelligence, appearing upon the neighbouring Coast, he imagined that *Octavius's* whole Fleet was at Sea, and thereupon retired towards *Peloponnesus*, put his Troops in Winter-Quarters, and spent that Season himself at *Patras*.

Such was the Situation of Affairs when *Octavius* took Possession of his third Consulship¹, having for his Colleague the great *Messala*, who was substituted in the Room of *Antony*.

In the Beginning of the Spring, the Armies began to move, and the Seas to be covered with the gathering Fleets. *Antony's* Preparations were great and splendid, suitable to the Power of the Man who possessed the largest and richest Half of the *Roman* Empire. He had upwards of a hundred thousand Foot, and twelve thousand of the very best Cavalry, under his Command, besides the additional Assistance of several auxiliary Kings, who brought him their choicest Troops, more in Number than he found afterwards he had any Use for. Among these were *Tarcondemus* King of *Upper Cilicia*, and his Son *Philopater*, *Rhymetalces* the *Thracian*, *Mithridates* of *Commagene*, *Deiotarus* the *Galatian*, surnamed *Philadelphus*, *Bocchus*, or *Bogud*, King of *Mauritania*, *Jamblicus* the *Arab*, and the bold *Amyntas* King of *Pamphylia* and *Ly-*

¹ A. U. DCCXXI.

caonia. These, with *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, who owed his Greatness to *Antony* and his Mother, came all in Person to assist the Man of whom they held their Crowns and Kingdoms; besides *Polemo*, who, from a private Man, had deserved the Royalty of *Pontus*. *Herod* the Jew, of the same Character, and another *Arabian* Prince, *Malchus*, not daring to leave their own Provinces, sent Men and Money to *Antony*. *Herod* sent him what Troops he could spare, and twelve thousand five hundred Bushels of Corn: and *Cleopatra*, as in Truth she had most Interest in the Undertaking, furnished two hundred Ships, three hundred and ninety - seven thousand five hundred Pounds (*δισμύρια ταλάντα*) in Money, for the Payment of the Troops, and Provisions for the whole War. — The *Athenians* too were very zealous on his Side. His long Stay among them, and their Dislike to the Name of *Cæsar*, attached them to *Antony*, who had several of the old staunch *Pompeians* in his Camp; among whom were *Cassius* of *Parma*, and *Domitius Enobarbus*.

Cleopatra's Alliance was of more Consequence, and the Weight she threw into *Antony's* Scale much greater than is commonly attended to. — The Mischief she did in the Course of the grand Transaction, has obliterated her otherwise powerful Assistance. — It is true, her Troops were of no great Significancy; being of such a Character as the Pope's Guards, or our City trained-Bands. But her Marine chiefly failed the Fleet; she replenished the military Chest with her Treasures,

and clothed the Legions with her Manufactures. Nor was the Counsel of so superior a Genius as *Cleopatra* to be undervalued, as appeared by her amazing Projects, and the masterly Methods she took to obtain her own Ends. — It is allowed that her Pride, her Insolence, her Lewdness, and other unbridled Passions, frequently defeated the Effects of her great Understanding: but had she been joined with another Leader than a besotted obsequious Lover, who would have checked the Exorbitances, and improved the Advantages of her Alliance, it might have proved such an Addition of Power and Stratagem, as might have determined the Fate of the War.

Octavius's Forces were assembled at *Brindisi* and *Tarentum*, and with them all such as were most distinguished, and had the greatest Influence among the Orders of Senators and Knights. He purposed to employ the Knights in actual Service, and to secure the Fidelity of the Senators, by keeping several of them about his Person. At the same Time he was glad to show openly to the whole World, that the Chiefs and Body of the *Roman* Empire were unanimously interested in Support of his Cause. — He had no foreign Princes in his Army, which amounted only to eighty thousand Foot, but was as strong in Cavalry as the Enemy's: — nor had he more than two hundred and fifty Ships; which were much smaller than those of *Antony*, but better built, more nimble, and far better manned with Sailors and Rowers, who understood how to work them perfectly well: whereas the large Hulks of which

Antony's Fleet consisted, seemed built merely for Show and Ostentation, were half empty, and had neither Pilots nor Mariners, but Men who had been forced into the Service, many of whom had never so much as seen the Sea; such as Husbandmen, Carriers, and even Boys pressed in *Greece*, which had been exhausted long before: nor could a sufficient Number be found even of these.

Every Part of the *Roman* Empire was now in Motion. *Antony's* Dominions reached from the *Euphrates* and *Armenia* as far as the *Ionian* Sea; and to these vast Regions must be added *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*. *Octavius* had on his Side *Africa*, from the District of *Cyrene*, as far as the Great Sea, *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and the Islands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. But *Italy* did not supply him with Forces only: — it was also a great Support, and a very advantageous Ornament to his Party, as *Virgil* expresses it, when, describing the Battle of *Actium*, so much celebrated by the Poets of those Days ², he represents, on one Side, *Octavius* ³ (who had obtained the Title of *Augustus*

² *Horace*, Epod. IX. *Ovid*, Metamorph. Lib. XV. and *Propert.* Lib. IV. Eleg. 6.

³ Hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Cæsar,
Cum Patribus Populoque, Penatibus & magnis Dīs.

Hinc ope barbaricâ variisque Antonius armis
Victor ab Auroræ populis & littore rubro,
Ægyptum, viresque Orientis, & ultima secum
Bactra vehit; sequiturque, nefas! Ægyptia conjux.

Virg. Æn. Lib. VIII.

at the Time when the Poet wrote this) leading *Italy* to the Fight, accompanied by the Senate and People, the Household Gods of *Rome*, and the tutelar Deities of the Empire; and, on the other, *Antony* dragging after him a Train of motly armed barbarous Nations, *Egypt*, the *East-Bactria*, and, to complete the Ignominy, an *Egyptian* Wife, who followed, or rather commanded him.

Octavius, in embarking his Troops, took particular Care to imitate the Example of his great Uncle *Julius*, in not suffering his Ships to be loaded with uselefs Hands, or superfluous Stores; but carefully regulated the Number of Slaves each Officer or Senator was to take with him, and the Quantity of Provisions.

When every Thing was ready for the general Departure, he detached *Agrippa* with a numerous Squadron to harass the Enemy. That brave Commander acquitted himself successfully of his Commission: he made Descents on several Parts of *Greece*, took some Towns, and among others *Methona*, now *Modon*; in the Defence of which *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*, lost his Life. But the most important Exploit of *Agrippa*, in this Expedition, was his seizing a large Convoy of Provisions and military Stores, which was coming to *Antony* from *Syria* and *Egypt*. After this happy Opening of the Campaign, *Agrippa* rejoined *Octavius*, who thereupon set Sail with all his Forces, and landed his Troops at the *Aceraunian* or *Thunder-Hills*, now called the Mountains of

Chimera, with Orders to march along the Coast as far as the *Ambracian Bay*, now the Gulph of *Larta*, about sixty Miles on this Side of the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where the naval Power of the *Turks* was broken in MDLXXI. — He then took Possession of *Corfica*, which the Enemy had abandoned, and soon after sailed himself with his Fleet towards the Bay of *Ambracia*. — This Bay, which is full of good Ports, is safe from all Storms, and the Country on each Side is very fruitful. Two Necks of Land, the Southermost called the Promontory of *Actium*, on which stood the City of that Name, and the Temple of the *Actian Apollo*; and the other, now called Cape *Figalo*, remarkable for the Town of *Nicopolis*, now *Preveza*, built there by *Octavius*, in Memory of his Victory, form this Bay, the Entrance of which is about a Mile over.

Antony's, or rather the *Egyptian Fleet* lay at Anchor before *Actium*, where his Army was also encamped, near his Ships, when *Octavius*, crossing the *Ionian Sea*, suddenly seized upon a little Fort and Harbour in *Epirus*, called *Toryne*; which secured him a Retreat on the *Eastern Coast*, in Case of Need, and proved of great Advantage to him for watering his own Fleet, and harassing *Antony's*, as it commanded the North-Bar of the Bay. The next Morning, as soon as it was Light, he appeared off *Actium* with his Ships in Order of Battle; and, in his Turn, missed an Opportunity of ruining his Enemy. *Antony's Men* were already so discou-

raged by *Cæsar's* taking *Toryne*, that it was with Difficulty he, and *Cleopatra*, who affected to make a Joke of the Loss of that Place, kept them from mutinying; especially as a great Number of his Land-Forces, and particularly the Legions under *Canidius*, were not yet arrived, and, at least, one Third of his new Sailors, unaccustomed to the Sea, had perished with Hardships and Diseases. Had *Octavius*, therefore, attacked *Antony* now, when he had but very few Soldiers on Board his Vessels, he must certainly have gained an easy and complete Victory. But *Antony's* Address saved him from this Danger. Suspending all the Oars of his Ships in such a Manner, that their Blades appeared in the Air on both Sides of the Vessels, he armed all his Rowers and Mariners like Soldiers, placed them upon the Decks, and with that false Show of Force sailed up into the Mouth of the Gulph, as if he had been, in all Points, prepared for an Engagement. *Octavius*, deceived by this Stratagem, retired, and fell to fortifying his Camp upon the North-Side of the Gulph of *Ambracia*, by drawing three Lines of Communication from it to the Port of *Comarus*, upon the *Ionian* Sea. — *Antony* occupied the two Points which commanded the Entrance of the Gulph, so that he could easily go in and out when he pleased: his Camp was extended in the Plain below *Actium*, and separated from that of the Enemy by the Breadth of the Gulph.

The two Armies remained some Time in this

Position, *Octavius* endeavouring to bring *Antony* to a Battle before his Reinforcements were arrived, and the other as studiously avoiding it till they had joined him. That done, *Antony* grew bolder, transported Part of his Army to the other Side where the *Cæsareans* were, and there formed a new Camp, leaving, however, the main Body of his Troops in the old one near *Actium*. *Octavius* then seemed less ardent to engage: but whilst he himself remained quiet, he had always some Detachments at Work, both by Sea and Land. — In Order to harass *Antony*, and oblige him, if possible, to quit his Post, he sent several Bodies of Troops into *Greece* and *Macedonia*; and *Agrippa*, by his Order, having put himself at the Head of a powerful Squadron, attacked and carried, in full View of *Antony's* whole Fleet, the Town and Island of *Santa Maura*, the ancient *Leucas*, (famed for the Lover's Leap) and soon after the adjacent Cities of *Patras* and *Corinth*.

While the Camps were thus opposed to one another *Titius* persuaded *Octavius's* General, *Stattilius Taurus*, to give him some Troops of Horse for a Sally he intended to make; and described the Design so to him, that he resolved to join in the Attempt. Accordingly they fell suddenly upon *Antony's* Cavalry, and routed them; and whether they took *Philadelphus* the *Cappadocian* Prisoner, or found Means to talk otherwise to him, I know not, but they brought him over with all his People to *Cæsar*. — *Titius* must have

been of his Acquaintance while he was in high Favor with *Antony*, and could therefore persuade him the more effectually. — *Agrippa's* Success, and the Behaviour of *Cleopatra*, made the Balance now incline to *Octavius's* Side, and staggered the Fidelity of a great many of *Antony's* Friends: for, soon after *Philadelphus* had left him, another of his Favorites, the well-known *Dellius*, followed his Example; and the Kings *Deiotarus* and the brave *Amyntas* were likewise so happy as to change to the safest Side. Desertions, even of very illustrious Persons, became frequent; but none gave such Pain to *Antony*, or such Joy to *Cæsar*, as that of *Domitius Enobarbus*, the best Man that ever was of his Name. His Reputation was so great, that being named Lieutenant-General for the War, he was pressed to set up for himself by the best of *Antony's* Friends, who were ashamed of *Cleopatra*, and yet would not join his Enemy. He was then in a very uncertain State of Health, which is thought to have been the Reason why he could not venture either to accept, or flatly refuse the Offer made him; and therefore, to rid himself of the Pain of Irresolution, and, perhaps, from the Fear, of *Antony's* Resentment, should he discover what had been in Agitation, but most certainly provoked beyond Measure by *Cleopatra's* Haughtiness, he threw himself into a Boat, though at that very Time ill of a Fever, and passed happily over to *Octavius*, who received him and all the Rest with high Marks of Favor, and prognosticated good Things to himself.

himself from these Preludes. *Antony*, highly provoked, gave out, that *Domitius* had left him only because he could not bear the Absence of a Mistress, *Servilia Nas*, who was in *Italy*; but at the same Time, contrary to *Cleopatra's* Advice, he generously sent after him all his Equipage, Friends, and Servants. *Domitius's* Death, which happened a few Days after, seemed to confirm the former of these Opinions, and to show that *Antony* had published that Story, only to diminish the Infamy of being left by a Man of such Weight and Character³. Though he did not live to be of any personal Service to *Octavius*, yet his Example weakened the Esteem of the Party he had abandoned, and was an Inducement to others to do the same. Of this Number was *Rhymetalces* King of *Thracia*, who drew upon himself a severe Reproof from *Cæsar*. Being at Supper, one Evening, in *Cæsar's* Tent, with several others of the same Quality, he drank till his Tongue became quite ungovernable, and talked of the Merit of his leaving *Antony*, and the Value that *Cæsar* ought to set upon his Alliance, till there was no longer any bearing of him: upon which *Octavius*, taking a Goblet in his Hand, drank to another of the royal Company who had been his constant Friend. For my Part, Sir, said he, I love a Treason with all my Heart, but I have no great Opinion of the Traitor⁴.

³ Suct. Nero, § 3.

⁴ Ἐγὼ προδοσίαν φίλω, προδότης δ' οὐκ ἵπαιώ.

Πλάτ. Απόφθεγμ.

These Desertions both exasperated *Antony*, and drove him to Acts of Cruelty. Whether with or without Cause, I will not pretend to say, he ordered *Jamblichus*, Prince of a Tribe of *Arabs*, to be racked to Death; and being informed that *Q. Posthumius*, a Senator, intended to leave him, he barbarously set a Mob of *Ruffians* upon him, who tore him in Pieces. — Truly to be pitied now, if Vice and Folly deserve Commiseration, *Antony*, by one of those strange Turns which violent Passions frequently take, passed on a sudden from one Extreme to another. He began to suspect even *Cleopatra* of no less a Crime than a Design to poison him; and, full of this Idea, he ordered every Thing that was served up to be tasted before him. The Queen laughed at his Fears; and, to cure him of them, one Day that they were feasting together, and grew pretty warm and merry, each of them being crowned with Garlands, she took off her Chaplet, the Edges of the Flowers of which had been dipped in Poison, and proposed, as a new Frolic, that they should drink their Garlands. The Proposal was immediately agreed to, and the Flowers were stripped off and thrown into the Bowl; which *Antony* was carrying to his Head, when she, clapping her Hand between it and his Mouth, said to him, “I am the Person, my dear *Antony*,
“ against whom you take this new Precaution of
“ having Tasters. Think you that, if I valued
“ Life without you, I should want either Op-
“ portunities or Contrivance to accomplish what

“ you fear ? ” Then sending for a Malefactor, who was under Sentence of Death, she made him drink up the Wine, and he expired immediately^s. — A Jest of this Kind would have made a very disagreeable Impression on a Man naturally suspicious : but, with *Antony*, it served only to renew his former blind Confidence in *Cleopatra*.

At Length *Canidius* arrived with the Rest of *Antony's* Legions, and, seeing the Danger nearer, changed his Mind, or at least his Language, with Respect to *Cleopatra*; advising his General by all Means to send her back, not to trust his Fortunes to a Sea - Engagement, but to retire into *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, there to decide the Quarrel with his Land - Forces, to which *Dicomas* King of the *Getæ* was ready to join a great Army. “ It will not, said *Canidius* to him, be
“ any Disparagement to you to quit the Sea to
“ *Cæsar*, who, in his Wars with *Pompey*, has
“ gained so great Experience in maritime Affairs.
“ But it will be renouncing both Sense and Reason for you, who are the most experienced
“ Land - Officer in the World, to make no other
“ Use of your well - disciplined and stout Troops,
“ but to disperse them on Board several Ships,
“ and render them useless in the Defence of a
“ Navy. — What can be more absurd, than to
“ depend upon the Sea and Winds for a Victory,
“ which the Valor and Experience of your Sol-

^s *Plin.* Lib. xx. Cap. 3.

“diers, whom you have tried in so many Dangers, leave you no Room to doubt of by Land?” — These solid Reasons would certainly have prevailed with *Antony*, if he had still been capable of judging for himself; but he saw nothing but by *Cleopatra's* Eyes, nor determined upon any Thing but by her Directions. — Dreading the Fatigues of Marches and Encampments, and determined at all Events not to leave him, she strongly opposed *Canidius's* Advice, and prevailed on *Antony*, with whom her Words were Oracles, to hazard the Empire and his Life in a Sea-Fight. Even then, says *Plutarch*, she was revolving in her own Mind, not how she might most effectually assist *Antony* to obtain the Victory; but how she might, when all was lost, make her Escape with the greatest Safety.

Antony having now, out of a shameful Complaisance for *Cleopatra*, and against his own Opinion, as well as that of all his Officers, determined to put the Event of all upon a Sea-Engagement, went often from his Camp to the Place where his Fleet rode at Anchor; sometimes alone, and sometimes attended only by a few particular Friends, not suspecting any Danger. One of *Octavius's* Slaves having observed him, ran immediately to his Master, and told him, that he had seen *Antony* walking without any Distrust, and slenderly attended, from his Camp to the Sea-Side. Upon this *Octavius*, the same Night, ordered a Party of chosen Men to cross the Gulph, which, as I said before, was very narrow at the

Entrance, and lie in Wait for *Antony* on the Neck of Land which led from his Camp to the Sea. His Orders were executed with such Secrecy, and the whole Affair was so well conducted, that had it not been for the Impatience of some Soldiers, who discovered themselves too soon, *Antony* had been seized, and an End put to the War without shedding a Drop of Blood: for they took the Officer who walked just before him, and it was with the utmost Difficulty that he himself escaped, by running with all his Speed.

As the Number of *Antony's* Mariners was not sufficient for all his Ships; and as he knew the Effeminacy of the *Egyptians*, who, he doubted, would be ready to turn their Backs as soon as the Fight began; he burnt all their Vessels, except sixty, which he left as a Guard for the Queen. He then picked out his best Gallies from three Ranks of Oars to ten, and put on Board them twenty thousand legionary Soldiers and two thousand Archers. — While they were embarking, an old experienced Centurion, who had fought long under *Antony*, and bore the Marks of many a fierce Encounter, could not endure the Thoughts of being transformed into a Marine; but, as *Antony* passed by, called to him aloud, saying⁶; *Noble General! When was it that ever this old Body of mine, or this trusty Sword, failed you, that you betake yourself to those vile Logs of Wood.*

⁶ *Plut. in Anton.*

for Security? Let the dastardly Egyptians and Phœnicians sculk between Boards at Sea; but give your Legions a fair Field and firm Ground to stand on, where we will either die or gain the Victory. Antony made no Answer; but with a Motion of his Hand and Head, seemed to bid him take Courage, that all would be well; and so passed forwards, having himself no good Opinion of the Posture of his Affairs, as plainly appeared from his Behaviour towards his Pilots, who were for leaving their Sails behind, as being of no Use in an Engagement: but he ordered them to take them all, *We, saying, must not let one of the Enemy escape;* which was putting a good Face upon a bad Cause.—*Cæsar* left all his Sails behind, being prepared for nothing but Action.

It was a Piece of the highest good Fortune to *Octavius*, that the Contest was, by the ill-fated Counsels of *Cleopatra*, and contrary to the better Opinion of *Antony* himself, who had long wavered in his Plan, turned from a Land-War to an Engagement by Sea. *Octavius* had neither Troops nor Generals equal to *Antony's*. *Canidius*, *Sosius*, *Ventidius*, and indeed most of the old experienced Commanders, bred under *Julius Cæsar*, stuck by *Antony*, whose Auxiliaries were triple the Number of *Octavius's*; and he himself far outstripped him as a General. — On the other Hand, he had no Admiral equal to *Agrippa*; and though his Ships were larger, yet neither his Rowers nor Mariners were so expert or trained as *Cæsar's*, to whom the Conquest of *Pompey* had partly formed,

and partly brought the best Seamen of the Empire. — To these Advantages in Favor of *Octavius*, must be added another, of very great Importance to his Cause. — *Antony's* Wildness, and the ruinous Courses he pursued, on one Hand, *Cæsar's* comparative Sobriety and legal Conduct for some Time past, on the other, had at last determined the noble and upright *Messala* to give the Sanction of his Presence to this Expedition, and accompany *Cæsar* to the War. — It was a grand Acquisition, both as a General and a Patriot. *Octavius* was sensible of its great Value; and happening one Day to express his high Satisfaction, That though he had been his fiercest Enemy at *Philippi*, yet he was now his firmest Friend, he received the celebrated Answer, dictated by superior Virtue, *You will always find me, Cæsar, upon the Side of the COMMON-WEALTH.*

Antony ranged his Fleet before the Mouth of the *Ambracian* Gulph, near the Shore; giving the Command of the right Wing to *Gallius Publicola*, that of the left to *Sofius*, and trusting the Centre to *Marcus Octavius* and *M. Justeius*. He himself had no particular Post, chusing to go about from one Place to another, according as his Presence should be necessary.

Cæsar's Fleet was drawn up over against that of *Antony*, but farther out at Sea. His right was commanded by *M. Lurius*, and his left by *L. Aruntius*, both under *Agrippa*, who commanded in chief, and upon whom the whole Action

entirely depended. The great *Messala* had also a Command in this Fleet; but it is not certain what that Command was. As to *Octavius* himself, surrounded by a Number of little Boats appointed to carry his Orders, by Way of Aides-de-camp, his Post, as well as that of *Antony*, was to watch the Events of the Battle.

The two Land-Armies, simple Spectators of the Engagement, were drawn up on each Side of the Bay; that of *Antony* commanded by *Candius*, and that of *Octavius* by *Statilius Taurus*, encouraging the two Fleets which were going to engage.

Whilst *Agrippa* was drawing up his Ships in Line of Battle, and giving the necessary Orders, an Accident happened, which gave new Spirits to his Master — He was sacrificing, after the pious Manner of the *Romans*, before the Battle should begin, when the Victim appeared to have a double Gall, which Part being sacred to *Neptune*, and the Powers of Moisture, the *Aruspex* instantly assured him of a naval Victory²; and thereby gained as much Credit to his prophetic Art, as ever *Romish* Priest did to the Reliques of any Saint by a feigned Miracle³. — That Day,

² *Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xi. 37.*

³ *Plutarch* tells us that another fortunate Omen was reported to have happened to *Octavius*; prognosticating his Victory. As he was going out of his Tent, says the Story, at Break of Day, to visit his Fleet, he met a Countryman driving an Ass; and being moved with Curiosity, or rather

and the three following, the Waves were so boisterous, that the Fleets could not possibly engage: but on the fifth, the Sea being calm, the decisive Action ensued. Though *Antony* offered Battle, he had no Mind to be the first that attacked; but ordered his Commanders to receive the Enemy without stirring, lying still, as if at Anchor, and as close to the Shore as they could. — *This Day*, said he to them, going about from Ship to Ship, *I expect the Empire of the World from your Valor; and I promise you Rewards answerable to so noble a Conquest.* *Octavius*, or rather his chief Admiral *Agrippa*, observing *Antony's* Situation with Surprise, and thinking it not advisable to attack him so near the Land, where the Nimbleness of his Vessels and the Skill of his Seamen would have been but of little Advantage, stopped about a Mile short of the Enemy, and continued in that Position till Noon; when a gentle Gale springing up, *Antony's* Men, impatient of farther Delays, and trusting to the Bulk and

Superstition, he asked the Man's Name. *My Name*, replied the other, is *Eutyches*, and my *Ass* is called *Nicon*. The first of these Names in *Greek* signifies happy, and the other Conqueror. This, we are told, seemed so lucky an Omen to *Octavius*, that he no longer doubted of Victory; and when he afterwards erected a Trophy in that Place with the Beaks of the Ships he had taken, he caused two Statues of Brass to be likewise set up, one representing the Man, and the other his *Ass*.

In *Anton.*

Height of their Ships, put their left Wing in Motion. *Agrippa* beheld this with great Satisfaction, and ordered his right Wing to fall back, in Order to draw the Enemy as far out as possible, that his light Gallies might have an Opportunity of surrounding *Antony's* heavy Ships, whose vast Size, and Want of Hands in Proportion to their Rates, rendered them unwieldy and unfit for Service.

The Battle began about two o'Clock in the Afternoon of the second of September, and lasted till almost Night. It was of a singular Kind. — I have elsewhere observed, that the Sea-Engagements among the Ancients were principally dreadful by the furious Shock of the encountering Ships, which ran down and dashed each other to Pieces with all the Force and Rapidity that Oars could give them; and for that End they had their Prows plated with Brass and prominent Beaks of Iron. The better Rowers had an Art of sweeping off a Tire of the Enemy's Oars, which disabled the Vessel; and sometimes while the Marines were fighting from the Deck, others were busy in boring Holes 'twixt Wind and Water to sink the Ship. The Unwieldiness and Bulk of *Antony's* Ships rendered the first Sort of Combat impracticable, and made the Action more like a Land-Battle, or rather the Attack of a Fort, than an Engagement at Sea: for three or four of *Augustus's* light Gallies would beset one

' A. U. C. DCCXXI.

of the Enemy, and one of them try to brush off her Oars, another to bore her Sides, a third to set her on Fire, and all of them to board her, as in a general Assault of a fortified Place; while the *Antonians*, like Men defending their Walls, threw Stones and Weights to crush the Besiegers, and cast out Chains with grappling Irons to catch hold of a Vessel, fix her to their Side, and master or sink her. Spears, Darts, and Javelins, were employed on both Sides with equal Rage and Obstinacy. While they were fighting thus, *Agrippa* ordered *Aruntius* to extend his left Wing, and endeavour to hem in the Enemy; upon which *Publicola* advanced to prevent it: but as by this Motion he left the main Body unguarded, *Agrippa* bore down upon it, and put it in some Disorder. The Fleets had been thus engaged for near two Hours, with as fair a Prospect of Success for *Antony* as for *Octavius*, when, on a sudden, *Cleopatra*, no longer able to bear the Noise and Terror of the Battle, and struck with the Thought that she might perhaps be taken Prisoner, and would in that Case be carried to *Rome* as a Captive, gave the Signal to her Ships to hoist sail and be gone; and in so doing gave the World to the young *Cæsar*: for this was the Loss of the Day, and the Ruin of *Antony*. The *Egyptians* were obliged to sail through the Middle of the engaged Fleets, before they could gain the Ocean; by which they disordered their own, and made their Enemies stand a While astonished, at a Loss to think what could be the Meaning of this extraordinary

Motion. *Antony*, whose Centre was now in Disorder, expected some gallant Action from the Queen, who had brought him into his present Danger. Instead of this without so much as attempting to assist him, she and her Squadron, favored with a strong Gale at North - West, steered their Course towards *Peloponnesus*. — There was nothing very surprising in this Behaviour of *Cleopatra*, who, as if she had come to the Engagement only in Order to fly, had taken Care beforehand to embark all her valuable Effects. But what follows is scarcely credible: — the brave *Antony*, a Soldier bred, and hardened in the Field, forgetting where and what he was, no sooner heard that *Cleopatra* was gone, than abandoning the Men who were fighting and dying in his Cause, he forsook his Admiral, stepped into a Frigate, and, attended only by two Friends, made all the Sail he could after his *Egyptian* Mistress. — *A Lover's Soul lives in another's Body*. — *Cleopatra*, seeing him come, ordered the Pavilion of her Galley to be hoisted up. He went on Board of it without seeing her, or being seen by her. She was on the Poop, and he went to the Prow, where he remained alone, leaning his Elbows on his Knees, and his Head on both his Hands, as one overwhelmed with Shame and Anger. His abandoned Fleet continued the Fight with great Bravery after they had lost their bewitched Leader. Only a few of them, indeed, knew at first of his having left them: but *Octavius* took Care not to

let any be long ignorant of it, going himself from Ship to Ship, telling them, that *Antony* was gone, and asking them for whom they fought so obstinately. Still their Attachment to their General, and their Love of Glory, were so strong, that they would not listen to any Terms, till at last the Sea beginning to run very high, and to shatter their Vessels, fatigued with resisting at once the Enemy, Winds, and Waves, they submitted to the Conqueror as Night was coming on. The Number of the Slain did not exceed five thousand; and the Number of Ships taken amounted to three hundred. — It is allowed by all, says *Velleius*, *Antony's* Soldiers acted the Part of a brave General, and their General that of the most cowardly Soldier. — They were so obstinate, and maintained the Dispute so late, that *Cæsar*, though he was not far from the Shore, thought proper to lay all Night on Board his Ship. In the mean Time, he detached *Mecenas* with a Squadron in Pursuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; but he soon returned, and then set out immediately for *Rome*, in Order to take upon him his new Office of Prefect of the City, and of all *Italy*.

Antony's Land-Army still remained unconquered, and in a Situation to give *Octavius* a great Deal of Trouble. Neither the Officers nor Soldiers of that Army could for some Time be brought to think it possible that their General, who had so often seen Fortune in all her Shapes¹, and been

¹ *Plut.* in *Anton.*

accustomed to Changes, had abandoned nineteen Legions of invincible Infantry, and twelve thousand of the very best Horse. They therefore imagined he would soon appear again from some Part or other, to put himself at their Head, and give them an Opportunity of showing their Fidelity and Zeal for his Interest and Service. But after waiting some Days, keeping in a regular Body though quite surrounded on all Sides, they were at Length convinced of the Truth of what had seemed absolutely incredible to them, by *Antony's* sending from *Tenarus*, where he had stopped, an Order to *Canidius* to bring him his Legions into *Asia* by the Way of *Macedonia*. — Even then they continued firm, and actually put themselves in Readiness to march; rejecting all *Octavius's* Solicitations, who pressed them to surrender: — till at last, reduced to great Distress, in Want of every Thing necessary to support Life, and forsaken by *Canidius* and all their chief Officers, who fled privately in the Night, they listened to Terms, and yielded to the Conqueror on the seventh Day after the Battle. From this memorable Victory, which rendered *Octavius* sole Master of the whole Roman Empire, *Dion Cassius* ², *Suetonius*, and after them *Aureliu Victor*, and *Eutropius*, date the Years of his Reign.

Nothing, one would think, could now hinder *Octavius* from pursuing his vanquished Enemy with all possible Diligence. In this he would have imi-

² Lib. LI. in init.

tated the Example of his Great-Uncle, who, after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, immediately followed *Pompey*, without allowing him to recover himself. But this *Cæsar* was far from being so active in War as the Dictator *Julius*. On the contrary, the Praises of *Circumspection*³ were his favorite Theme, to enforce which, he had always some proverbial Expression ready; such as the *Greek Adage*, *Hasten slowly*; or a Verse, the Sense of which is, that *A General had better be too cautious, than too rash*; or *Cato's Saying*⁴, *That which is well enough done, is quickly enough done*. He was, doubtless, persuaded on this Occasion, that *Antony* was reduced to so low an Ebb, that a Delay of a few Months could not possibly enable him to retrieve his shattered Fortune; and therefore thought it prudent to turn his Attention to Objects nearer Home, and in themselves of great Importance.

His first Care was to return Thanks to his favorite and tutelar Deity *Apollo*, one of whose most celebrated Characters among the *Romans*, particularly in the *Augustan Age*, was that of the *Ælian*⁵. This God had long been worshipped

³ Nil minus in perfecto duce, quam festinationem temeritatemque convenire arbitrabatur. Crebro itaque illa jaetabat,

Σπεῦδε βραδέως, &c.

⁴ Ασφαλὴς γὰρ ἐστὶ αἰμείνων, ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης.

⁵ Sat cito, sit sat bene.

Sueton. Lib. II.

⁵ *Apollo* was not only supposed to assist *Octavius* in the Battle of *Ægium*, but also in that of *Philippi*, against *Bru-*

on the Promontory of *Actium*, or *Leucate*, where he had a famous Statue, which stood very near the Place from whence desponding Lovers were to take their Leap⁶, and so high, that it was visible a good Way out at Sea, and served for a

thus; as we learn from a Passage in *Valerius Maximus*; (which, by the Way, shows that there were *Sortes Homericæ* of old, as well as *Sortes Virgilianæ*) *M. Bruti dignus, admissio parricidio, eventus omine designatus est: siquidem post illud nefarium opus natalem suum celebrans, cum Græcum versum expromere vellet, ad illud potissimum Homericum referendum animo tetendit; “Ἀλλὰ με μοῖρ’ ὅλον καὶ Ἀηκοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός.”* qui deus, Philippeni acie, a Cæsare & Antonio signo datus, in eum tela convertit. Lib. I. c. 5.

As *Octavius* was so particularly obliged to the *Apollo* of *Actium*, he built one Temple to him on the Spot, and another afterwards within the Confines of his own House, on the *Palatine Hill*, at *Rome*. This House was called the *Palatium*, a Name then peculiar to it, but which afterwards became a general Appellation for all royal Houses: and the noble Figure of *Apollo*, which stood in the Temple he built there to the *Actian Apollo*, was from thence called the *Apollo Palatinus*. This Statue was a Work of the famous *Scopas*, as *Pliny* informs us, (*Hist. Nat. Lib. XXXVI. C. 5*) and was not so ambiguous as that of the *Apollo* at *Actium*; this in the *Palatium* representing the God solely under his Character of *Lyristes*, that is to say, in his flowing Robe, and as actually playing on his Lyre.

— Quoniam non ignibus æquis

Ureris, Ambracias terra petenda tibi.

Phœbus ab excelso quantum patet adspicit æquor;

Land-Mark

Land-Mark to Mariners', by whom *this Apollo* was very much revered. — *Octavius*, before his Engagement with *Antony* off this Cape, had addressed his Devotions to him for the Victory. — This made him so celebrated among the *Roman Poets*: notwithstanding which, it is somewhat difficult to determine exactly what Sort of Appearance *Apollo* made under the Character of the *Actian* or *Leucadian* God. His Dress, on this Occasion, seems to have been of a mixed Kind; partly that of the *Apollo Venator*, and partly that of the *Apollo Vates* or *Lyristes*. At least, the Poets in general give him a Bow^u in his Hand; and on a Medal^v of *Augustus* he appears with the long flowing Robe of the *musical Apollo*. Though this Confusion of his Attributes and Characters be very uncommon, yet it is met with in some other

Actiacum populi Leucadiumque vocant.
Hinc se Deucalion, Pyrrhæ succensus amore
Misit, & illæso corpore pressit aquas:
Nec mora, versus amor tetigit leuissima Pyrrhæ
Pectora —

Sappho to Phaon. Ovid. Epist. XV. l. 170.

^v Mox & Leucataë nimboſa cacumina montis;
Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.

Virg. Æn. III. v. 170.

^u *Petron. Arbit. v. 115. Virg. Æn. VIII. v. 706. Propert. Lib. IV. El. 6. v. 57 & 68.*

^v In *Oiselius's Thes. select. Numism. Pl. 37. Fig. 11.*

ancient Representations of this God ¹. The Names of *Vates* and *Lyrists* were given to him indifferently, in his poetical Character; Music and Poetry being one and the same Profession in the earliest Ages of the World.

Octavius next turned his Attention to the great Number of Troops with which he was surrounded. Remembering into what Danger he had been put by forty-five Legions united in *Sicily*, after the Defeat of *Sextus Pompey*, and the forced Abdication of *Lepidus*; and justly apprehending a similar Effect, in a now similar Case, from that Boldness with which Soldiers are naturally inspired by a Confidence in their Strength and Numbers; he judged it necessary, in the first Place, to divide *Antony's* Army. To this End, he gave the old Soldiers Leave to depart, and incorporated the Rest into his own Legions: nor would he keep even these all together; but sent away, as quick as possible, the Veterans into *Italy*, there to expect their promised Rewards, reserving about him only such as had not yet finished their Time of Service. — From these, he had Reason to expect Submission. The Hope of a rich Spoil, which they promised themselves in *Egypt*, was a powerful Motive to preserve their Fidelity. But

¹ *Pliny*, speaking of the Works of the celebrated *Leontius* at *Rome*, mentions one in which he had made *Apollo* killing the *Python*; and at the same Time dressed as a Musician.

still fearing lest those he had sent into *Italy* should grow impatient at not receiving the Rewards their long Services entitled them to, (which he was not in a Condition to pay them at that Time) and sow the Seeds of Discord among the *Italians*, oppressed with grievous Imposts; he wisely ordered all the new Taxes to be taken off, and remitted three Months Arrears, which were then due. These Indulgences were gratefully received, and gained him the Affections of all the People.

Mecenas was already in *Italy*, and *Octavius* had great Confidence in his Abilities: but as this Minister chose to remain in the Order of Knights, he had not that Splendor of Titles which imposes upon the Multitude. *Octavius* therefore took the farther Precaution of sending thither *M. Agrippa*, who, being adorned with the greatest Honors, was more likely to be respected.

The Fate of the Prisoners taken in this Battle, and that of the several Kings and Nations who had assisted *Antony*, was another important Point, which ought to have been seriously considered — But *Cæsar* was not accustomed to end any of his Wars in the Manner his Father had done. — *Alexander*, who had betrayed his Brother *Jamblichus* to *Antony*, and been the Cause of his Death, was indeed the only Prince that suffered capitally on this Occasion. *Octavius* kept him Prisoner till his Triumph, where he was led in Chains, and afterwards beheaded. As for *Jamblichus's* Kingdom, the Victor gave it many Years after to his Son. He deprived the young *Philopator*, *Tarcondemus's*

Son, of his Kingdom; but gave it afterwards to the younger Brother, who bore his Father's Name. *Archelaus's* Obligations to *Antony*, I suppose, excused his taking Part with his Benefactor: for he was pardoned and confirmed in his Kingdom. Of the illustrious *Romans*, Partisans of *Antony*, *Octavius* pardoned some, at the earnest Request of his Friends and his Mother *Mucia*. Among these were *Q. Sotius*, who, after being a long Time concealed by his faithful Friend *Aruntius*, obtained a Pardon, at last, through the Intercession of that Friend; *M. Scaurus*, a Brother of *Sextus Pompey*, saved by the Prayers of *Mucia*; and *C. Furnius*, pardoned at the Solicitation of his Son, of whom *Seneca* has recorded a very memorable Expression on this Occasion. "*Cæsar*," said he, with a fine turned Compliment to *Octavius*, "This is the only Cause you ever gave me to complain. — I must now live and die ungrateful." — Another Instance of his being moved by the Force and Merit of the Prayers of a Son interceding for his Father, is thus handed down to us by *Appian*. While he was at *Samos*, soon after this Battle, advancing towards *Syria* and *Egypt*, he held a Council to examine the Causes of some remaining Prisoners who had been engaged in *Antony's* Party. Among these, there was brought before him an old Man, named *Metellus*, oppressed with Years and Infirmary, disfigured with a long Beard and neglected Head of Hair, and very ragged in his Cloathing. The Son of this *Metellus* was one of the Judges.

Struck with the Appearance of the Prisoner, and examining him narrowly, he at Length knew him to be his Father: upon which he ran up to him, and embraced him, weeping bitterly; and then, returning towards the Tribunal, "*Cæsar*, said he, "my Father has been your Enemy, and I your "Officer. He deserves to be punished, and I to "be rewarded. The Favor I desire of you is, "either to save him on my Account, or to order "me to be put to Death with him." All the Judges were touched with Compassion. *Octavius* himself relented, and granted old *Metellus* his Life and Liberty, though he had Reason to look upon him as his implacable Enemy.

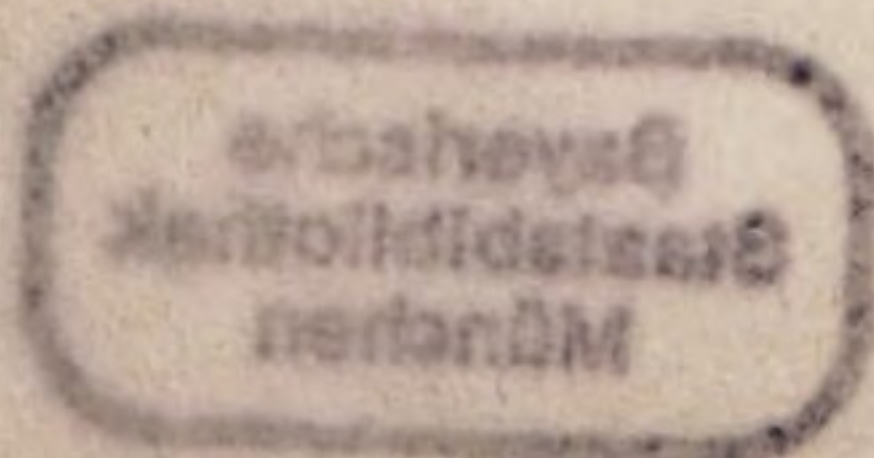
These Acts of Generosity did Honor to *Octavius*, and gained him the Hearts of many. But still that arrant Flatterer *Velleius* is not the less wrong in pretending², that the Cruelties which he committed in the Beginning of the Triumvirate, and after the Battle of *Philippi*, were all forced, and that the Blame of them ought not to fall upon him, but upon his Colleagues. All historical Records bear Witness, that he was by far the most violent and bloody-minded of the *Three*. — His different Conduct after the Battle of *Actium* proceeded from the Difference of Conjunctions. At the Time of this decisive Action, all the Heads of the Republican Party were taken off, and he had Reason to hope that the Partisans of *Antony*, who

² *Vell.* II. 66.

were accustomed to serve one Master, would easily submit to the Laws of another, who should better deserve their Affection, which he now politically resolved to endeavour to secure. I say *politically*: for all the Actions of his Life, notwithstanding the great Benefits that really accrued from them to the Public, were artful and designing; and that his Temper was naturally cruel to Excess, he proved, immediately after the grand Battle of *Actium*, in such a Manner, as greatly diminished the Merit he might otherwise have claimed from the above, and some other Deeds of Humanity. — He pardoned, as I said, some of the illustrious *Romans* who had sided with *Antony*; but he wreaked his Vengeance upon others of them with the utmost Inhumanity. Several of them were slaughtered in cold Blood. Among the Rest, the young *Curio*, son to *Cæsar's* great Enemy, and afterwards his great Friend, the famous *Curio*, who was killed fighting for him in *Africa*, was put to Death³: and *Aquileius Florus* the Father, with his Son, of the same Name, were ordered to cast Lots for their Lives. The Youth could not bear the Indignity of the Order, nor dispute a Survivance with his aged Father, but hastily stretched out his Neck to the Executioner; and the miserable Parent, unable to endure the Sight, took a Dagger, and in Despair and Agony plunged it into his own Bosom.

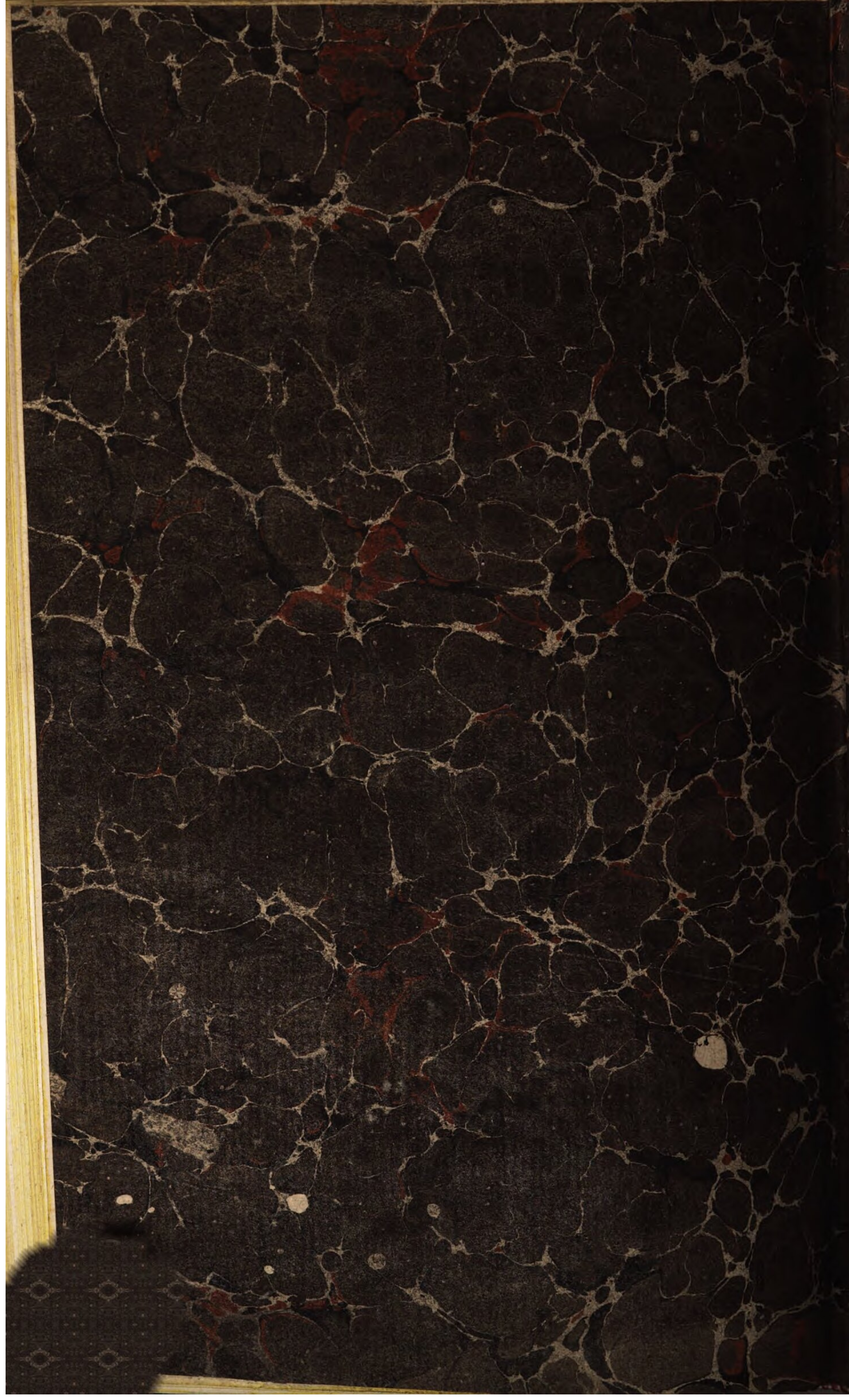
³ *Vell. II. 86.*

The Adventure of *Marcus* and *Barbula*, as related by *Appian*, is too singular not to be taken Notice of. *Barbula*, an old Friend of *Antony's*, and one who had served under him at the Battle of *Philippi*, purchased, after that Battle, one of the proscribed, who had disguised himself like a Slave, in Order to save his Life. This pretended Slave, whom that Author calls by the Name of *Marcus*, being employed by his Master in different Offices, acquitted himself with an Address and Probity which spoke him of much higher Rank than that he affected to appear in. *Barbula* endeavoured to get the Secret out of him, by promising, that if he was among the Number of the proscribed, he would cause his Name to be erased out of the fatal List. *Marcus* still concealed his real Quality, and followed his Master to *Rome*. There he was known by one of *Barbula's* Friends; and his Master, in Pursuance of his Promise, by his Interest with *M. Agrippa*, obtained a Pardon for *Marcus*, who thereupon attached himself to *Octavius*. Some Years after this happened the Battle of *Actium*, in which *Marcus* and *Barbula* were still on different Sides; the former fighting for *Octavius*, and the latter for *Antony*. After the Battle, the Scene between them was inverted. *Barbula* could not contrive a better Method of saving his Life, than by disguising himself like a Slave. *Marcus* purchased him, pretending he did not know him, and, in his Turn, by his Interest with *Octavius*, saved the Person who had before



saved him. *Appian* adds, as a farther Circumstance in which their Fortunes resembled each other, that, some Time after, they were Companions in the Consulship; that is, by Subrogation; for their Names are not found in the List of the Consuls in ordinary.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.





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